

PLUTARCH's LIVES,

~~Chatel~~ Abridged from the ~~Young's~~
~~Bryne~~ ~~—~~ ~~Daedel~~
ORIGINAL GREEK,

Illustrated with
NOTES and REFLECTIONS,

And embellished with

COPPER-PLATE PRINTS.

VOLUME the SIXTH.

Containing the LIVES of

PHOCION,
CATO THE YOUNGER,
AGIS,
CLEOMENES,
TIB. GRACCHUS,

C. GRACCHUS,
DEMETRIUS,
M. ANTONY,
AND
DEMOSTHENES.

L O N D O N:

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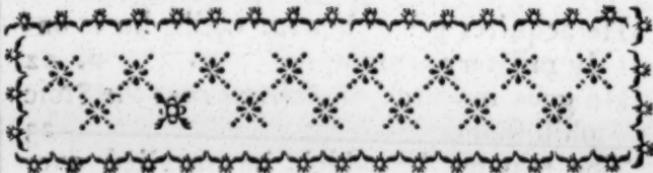
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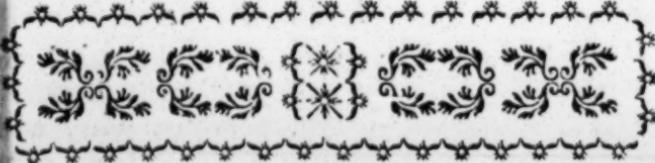
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T H E



THE LIFE OF PHOCION.

PHOCION's extraction seems to
to have been neither obscure nor
ignoble; for while very young,
he was the scholar of *Plato*, and
afterwards he was a hearer of *Xenocrates*. According to *Doris*, no *Athenian*
ever saw him laugh or cry; and when in the
camp he always went thinly cloathed and
bare-footed. Though his conversation was
easy, and he was possessed of great humanity,
he had a morose and sour appearance; for
which being reproached by *Chares* the orator,
and the *Athenians* seeming pleased, he answered,
“ The sternness of my countenance never
made

“ made any of you sad, but the mirth of
“ these sneerers has cost you many a tear.”
His discourse was grave, nervous, wise, and
instructive, and nothing dropped from him
that was not tinctured with good sense. In
his youth he served under *Chabrias*, the *Athenian* general, and in the battle of *Naxos*, com-
manded the left squadron, where the engage-
ment was hottest, and in which *Chabrias* ob-
tained a signal victory. He always endea-
voured to promote peace and tranquillity,
yet was engaged in more wars than any of
his predecessors and cotemporaries: for tho'
he never courted military employments, he
would never decline them when called to
them by his country. Thus he was forty-
five times general of the *Athenians*, and yet
was never present at his election, he being
always nominated in his absence. In a dis-
pute with the *Eæotians* about their bounda-
ries, which the *Athenians* were deciding by a
war, he advised them *rather to fight with*
words, in which they had the advantage, than
with arms, in which they were inferior. On
another occasion, when they disliked what he
had proposed, and would not suffer him to
proceed, he cried, “ You may force me to
“ do what I would not, but you shall never
“ force me against my judgment to speak
“ what I ought not.”

It may appear surprizing that a man, in
some respects stern and severe, should obtain
from the people the surname of the *Good* and
the *Gentle*; but it is not impossible for the

ame

same man to have austerity and gentleness blended in his temper; as in some wines we find an equal mixture of the sweet and the sour. *Phocion* had indeed no personal hatred to any one; but yet was inflexibly obstinate and severe against those who opposed his designs for the public good; and as to his behaviour in general, it was easy, courteous, and obliging to all, so that he assisted the distressed, and generously espoused the cause of those who had acted in opposition to him. In short, he was so much beloved by the allies of the *Athenians*, and the inhabitants of the islands, that though they treated every other admiral the *Athenians* sent to them as an enemy, by shutting their gates, blocking up their havens, and removing their cattle, slaves, wives, and children out of the country into the cities; upon his arrival, they went out in their ships to meet him crowned with garlands, and conducted him into their ports with great demonstrations of joy.

King *Philip* seizing the island of *Eubœa* by surprize, *Plutarch* of *Eretria* sent to conjure the *Athenians* to deliver the island out of the hands of the *Macedonians*; on which *Phocion* was sent thither with a small force, it being expected that the inhabitants would join him immediately upon his arrival: but the people being corrupted by the money *Philip* had distributed among them, the whole island was in confusion, and *Phocion* ran the greatest risk imaginable: but seizing a small rising ground separated from the plain of *Tamynæ* by a deep

ditch, he fortified it ; and when the enemy drew near, ordered his troops to stand to their arms while he went to sacrifice. As he staid a considerable time, *Plutarch* interpreting his delay to a defect of courage, sallied out with the auxiliaries, which the cavalry perceiving, could not be restrained, but issuing out of the camp in a disorderly manner, advanced against the enemy ; by which means they were soon routed, and *Plutarch* himself fled. A body of the enemy now thinking the day their own, marched up to the camp, and began to level the intrenchments ; but the sacrifice being by this time over, the *Athenians* sallied out, killed many of the assailants in the intrenchments, and put the rest to flight : mean while *Phocion* ordered the main body to keep their ground, and cover such as were routed in the first attack, while he, with a select party, charged the main body of the enemy. The fight was now obstinate, both sides behaving with great courage and intrepidity ; but the horse who had fled, rallying and returning to the charge, confirmed the victory to the *Athenians*.

Phocion soon after sailed back to *Athens* ; and several other generals being successively sent against *Philip*, met with very ill success. Upon this *Phocion* was sent to the assistance of *Byzantium*, when he not only preserved that city, but drove *Philip* out of the *Hellespont* ; took many of his ships ; recovered several places which he had taken and garrison'd, and made several incursions into *Philip*'s territories ;

ries; but being at last wounded in battle, was obliged to retire.

Some time after, the *Megarensians* sent privately to desire the assistance of the *Athenians*, when *Phocion* fearing that he should be opposed by the *Bacotians*, called an assembly very early in the morning, and having made known the petition of the *Megarensians*, it was determined in their favour. *Phocion* then caused proclamation to be instantly made by sound of trumpet for the *Athenians* to arm, and putting himself at their head, marched to *Megara*, where he fortified the haven, and joined it by two walls to the city.

The *Athenians* having, during *Phocion*'s absence, declared open war against *Philip*, that great man, at his return, earnestly presied the people, since *Philip* desired to be at peace with them, to accept of the conditions that had been offered them; but finding that he was unable to prevail, and that *Demosthenes*'s opinion was approved, which was, that they should carry the war as far as possible from *Attica*, *Phocion* answered, "Let us not be so careful about the place of battle, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a distance; for if we are overcome, the greatest calamities will soon be at our very doors."

The *Athenians* being however defeated, *Phocion* was made governor of the city; when *Démades* the orator proposing that *Athens* should be comprehended in the general peace, and be admitted into the assembly of *Greece*,

Phocion insisted, that it ought first to be known what it was that *Philip* would demand in that assembly. But his advice was not followed, for which the *Athenians* soon after sufficiently repented, when they were informed, that by those articles they were obliged to furnish *Philip* both with horse and ships. "This, " said *Phocion*, I foresaw, and therefore opposed; but since the agreement is made, bear it with courage, remembering that your ancestors sometimes giving laws, and at others receiving them, behaved well in each situation, and thus preserved not only their own city, but the rest of *Greece*."

When the news arrived of *Philip*'s death, he would not suffer the people to sacrifice, or give any other public demonstration of joy: "For nothing, cried he, can be a plainer mark of a mean spirit, than rejoicing at the misfortunes of others. Besides, the army you fought at *Cheronæa*, is lessened only by the loss of a single man."

After *Thebes* was lost, and *Alexander* had demanded *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, and *Charidemus* to be delivered up to him, the whole assembly turned their eyes on *Phocion*, and several times called him by name to deliver his sentiments; at last he arose, and having given his opinion that they should be delivered up, added, "Nay, if my own life could purchase your safety, I would resign it with cheerfulness. I am grieved for the *Thebans*, who are fled hither for succour; but it is enough for *Greece* that *Thebes* should

" should

“ should mourn ; and surely it will be more
“ for the common interest to deprecate the
“ vengeance of the conqueror, and intercede
“ for both, than to run the hazard of another
“ battle.” It is said, that when *Phocion*
went to present a decree from this assembly
to *Alexander*, he not only gave him a favourable
audience, and granted his request, but
listened with pleasure to his advice, when
Phocion told him, *That if he was desirous of re-
pose, he should lay down his arms ; but if glory
was his object, he ought to turn them from the
Greeks against the Barbarians.* And, in short,
that prince was so pleased with *Phocion*’s con-
versation, that he conceived a particular
esteem for him, and conferred such honours
on him, as few of those received who were
always near his person. In particular, he once
sent him a present of an hundred talents,
which being brought to *Athens*, *Phocion* asked,
How he alone became so highly obliged to
his bounty ? And being told, that *Alexander*
esteemed him the only good man at *Athens*,
he replied, “ Let him then permit me to
“ continue so.” They however followed
him home, where seeing his wife kneading
bread, and observing him to draw water to
wash his feet, they pressed him to accept the
money, and said, they were ashamed, that
one so highly favoured by so great a prince
should live so miserably ; but *Phocion* observ-
ing a poor old man in a tattered cloak passing
by, asked them, if they thought him more
wretched than that man ? They begged him
not

not to make the comparison: " Yet, added
" he, this man has less to live upon than I,
" and enjoys content. In short, if this sum
" be more than I can use, it is altogether
" superfluous, and if I live up to it, I shall
" raise the jealousy of the citizens both a-
" gainst your master and myself." He there-
fore sent back the treasurer with the money,
and thus shewed the *Grecians*, how much richer
was the man who did not want such a gift,
than he who was able to bestow it. But to
shew that he was not averse to being obliged,
he interceded for four persons who were in
custody at *Sardis*, and *Alexander* caused them
to be set at liberty.

As we have just mentioned the industry of *Phocion*'s wife, it will not be improper here to add, that she had a most amiable character; and that once entertaining her friend, a woman of *Ionia*, who shewed her all her ornaments of gold, her jewels, bracelets, and necklaces, she answered, " For my part, my
" only ornament is *Phocion*, who has theie
" twenty years commanded the *Athenians*."

Alexander once sent to demand a number of galleys of the *Athenians*; when the orators opposing their being sent, the assembly desired *Phocion*'s sentiments; on which he replied, his opinion was, *That till they had rendered themselves the most powerful, they ought to live in friendship with those that were so.*

When *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander* had entrusted with the treasures of *Babylon*, fled from

Asia,

Aisia, and brought his immense riches to *Athens*, the mercenary orators flocked in crowds to him with offers of their service. *Harpalus* made some small presents, to secure them in his interest; but sent to *Phocion* 700 talents, with an offer of committing himself and all his affairs to his disposal. But *Phocion*, instead of accepting the money, threatened to make *Harpalus* repent, if he thus continued corrupting the people. *Harpalus* terrified at this answer, desisted. Afterwards when the *Athenians* were deliberating about him, he found that those who had received his money accused, instead of defending him, while *Phocion*, who had received none, shewed as much concern for him as was consistent with the public interest. This encouraged him to try once more if he could not purchase his friendship; but he found him proof against the attacks of gold, and like a strong fortress on all sides inaccessible and impregnable. After *Harpalus*'s decease, *Charicles*, *Phocion*'s son-in-law, was called to account for the money he had received from him, on which he entreated *Phocion* to appear in his behalf at his trial: but this he refused, telling him, *That he had made him his son-in-law only for just and honourable purposes.*

About this time *Asclepiades*, the son of *Hipparchus*, brought to *Athens* the first news of *Alexander*'s death, when the people exulting, seemed disposed to engage in some rash and precipitate measures. *Phocion* endeavoured to restrain them; but many of them crowding to

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the bench, cried, that the news was true. Well then, said *Phocion*, if it be true to day, it will be as true to morrow, and the next day: so that we have time enough to debate coolly and deliberately.

The *Athenians* being eagerly bent on prosecuting a war against the *Bœotians*, which had been entered into contrary to the advice of *Phocion*, he warmly opposed it; but finding that the people at length grew clamourous against him, he caused proclamation to be made, that all the *Athenians* who were sixty years above the age of puberty should take five days provisions, and immediately follow him. This caused a great tumult, and the old men were very clamourous against the order. Up this, he demanded in what he had injured them; For I, said he, who am now eighty, am ready to lead you. This cooled the zeal they had before expressed for the war. But soon after *Micion* at the head of a strong party of *Macedonians* and mercenaries, having pillaged the coasts, and made a descent upon *Rhamnus*, *Phocion* marched against them. When the armies were drawn up, an *Athenian* advanced out of his rank before the rest; but one of the enemy advancing to encounter him, his courage failed, and he retired back into his rank; on which *Phocion* called out, "Young man, art thou not ashamed to desert thy station twice in one day, both where I had placed thee, and where thou hadst placed thyself?" Then charging the enemy with great bravery and resolution, he routed them, and killed *Micion* on the spot.

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He afterwards defeated the *Grecian* army in *Theffaly*, where *Leonatus* had joined *Antipater* and the *Macedonians* newly come from *Asia*, when *Leonatus* was killed in the battle. Soon after *Craterus* coming with a powerful army from *Asia*, defeated the *Grecians* near *Cronon* in *Theffaly*: when, tho' their loss was inconsiderable, this joined to *Antipater's* having underhand tempered with the cities, made the *Grecians* shamefully betray the liberty of their country.

At length, *Antipater* approaching *Athens* with all his forces, *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* deserted the city, and the people being in great consternation, sent *Phocion* to enter into a treaty with *Antipater*, who declaring, that he would grant the *Athenians* no other terms, but what he himself had received from *Leosthenes* at *Lamia*; *Phocion* returned to the city, and having reported this answer, they complied. *Phocion* was therefore sent back to *Thebes*, with other ambassadors, among whom was *Xenocrates* the philosopher, whose virtue was in such high reputation, that it was imagined the most brutal, barbarous, and arrogant, would be seized with reverence at his first appearance. But he no sooner began to speak, than *Antipater* interrupted him; and *Phocion* having declared the purport of their embassy, he answered, that he would enter into a league with the *Athenians*, on condition that *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* should be delivered up to him: that the ancient law should be observed, by which none but the wealthy should be admitted into offices of state; that they

they should receive a garrison into *Manychia*, defray the expences of the war, and pay a fine. *Phocion* pressed him with great earnestness to give up the article relating to the garrison; but in vain, the *Athenians* were constrain'd to receive it; but it was commanded by *Menythus* a good-natured man, and a friend to *Phocion*, whence it was not at all prejudicial to the inhabitants; but about 12,000 persons being, on account of their poverty, excluded from having any share in the government, made loud complaints of this injury, and the rest of the poor who left *Athens*, and retired into *Thrace*, where *Antipater* had assigned them a town, and some territories, considered themselves as no better than a colony of exiles.

The *Athenians* were however very importunate with *Phocion* to persuade *Antipater* to withdraw the garrison; but he steadily declined it, either from his having no hopes of prevailing, or his observing that the garrison keeping them in awe, rendered them more orderly and governable. The only thing he asked and obtained from *Antipater*, was, to prolong the time of payment of the fine. The people therefore leaving him, applied to *Demades*, who readily undertaking the office, carried his son with him into *Macedonia*. His evil genius led him thither, just at the time when *Antipater* died, and when *Cassander*, his son, who was now become absolute, found a letter written by *Demades* to *Antigonus* in *Asia*, advising him to come and assume the empire of

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of Greece and Macedonia, which, as he expressed himself, were held together only by a thread, and even an old and rotten thread, meaning Antipater. Cassander, enraged, no sooner heard of their arrival, than causing them both to be seized, he had the son put to death in his father's presence, and so near his person, that the blood spilt upon him. Then bitterly reproaching the father for his treachery and ingratitude, he caused him also to be slain.

Antipater, had just before his death, appointed Polyperchon general, and his son Cassander Chiliarch, or commander of a thousand men: but he was no sooner dead, than Cassander seized on the government, and instantly sent Nicanor to succeed Menyllus, in the command of the garrison of Munychia, before his father's death should be publickly known. This was done, and Phocion freely conversing with Nicanor, whom he persuaded to distinguish himself by entertaining the people with public shews, raised a suspicion that he was privy to the design. In the mean time, Polyperchon, who had the care of the king's* person, wrote to the Athenians, that it was his majesty's pleasure, that the popular government should be restored. This letter occasioning some commotions among the Athenians, Nicanor was desirous of speaking to them in

* The son of Alexander the Great, who was yet young.

the *Piræus*, and the people were accordingly assembled there. *Nicanor*, relying on *Phocion*'s promise for his security, came; but hearing that *Doryllas*, who commanded an army in the adjacent country, had undertaken to seize him, he escaped, and *Phocion* was accused for being near him, and not seizing him, as he might have done; but excused himself by observing, *That he had no mistrust of Nicanor, whom he did not suspect to have any ill design. However, if it were otherwise, he had rather be known to suffer, than to do what was unjust.*

In this conjuncture *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*, arrived with a considerable force, under the pretence of succouring the city against *Nicanor*; but in reality to seize it himself. The exiles who had followed *Alexander* soon got into the city, where joining with all the foreigners, and those who had been degraded, a tumultuous assembly was held, in which *Phocion* was divested of his post of general, while *Callimedon*, with several other citizens, who were apprehensive of the same fate, immediately retired from the city. *Phocion*, who had the grief to hear himself accused of treason, with a few friends that stood by him, took sanctuary with *Polyperchon*; but ambassadors being sent with an accusation against *Phocion*, he was far from having a fair and equitable hearing; and the assembly was no sooner dissolved, than *Phocion*, and those friends that were near him, were taken into custody; on which they that were

were at a greater distance covered their faces, and saved themselves by flight.

Phocion and his friends were then conducted back to *Athens* to take their tryal. The manner of conveying them was very disgraceful; they were carried in carts through the *Ceramicus* to the theatre, where *Clitus* secured them till the archons had called an assembly, from which neither slaves, strangers, nor any infamous persons whatsoever, were excluded. In the first place they read the king's letter, wherein he observed, *That tho' he was fully convinced that those men were traitors, yet he sent them back to be tried as by a free people, in the full possession of their own laws and privileges.* *Clitus* then brought in his prisoners. When at the sight of *Phocion*, the men of honour and virtue hid their faces, and hanging down their heads, burst into tears; and one of them boldly cried out, *That since the king had left to the people the judgment of so important an affair, the assembly ought to be cleared of strangers, and men of servile condition.* But this motion was opposed with great warmth by the populace, who exclaimed, that they ought rather to stone those advocates for oligarchy, the enemies of the people. *Phocion* frequently attempted to plead his own cause, and vindicate his conduct; but he was always interrupted: but at last having obtained silence, he asked, *If they intended to put him to death justly or unjustly?* when some answering, *Justly;* he replied, *How can that be known, except we have a fair hearing?* But

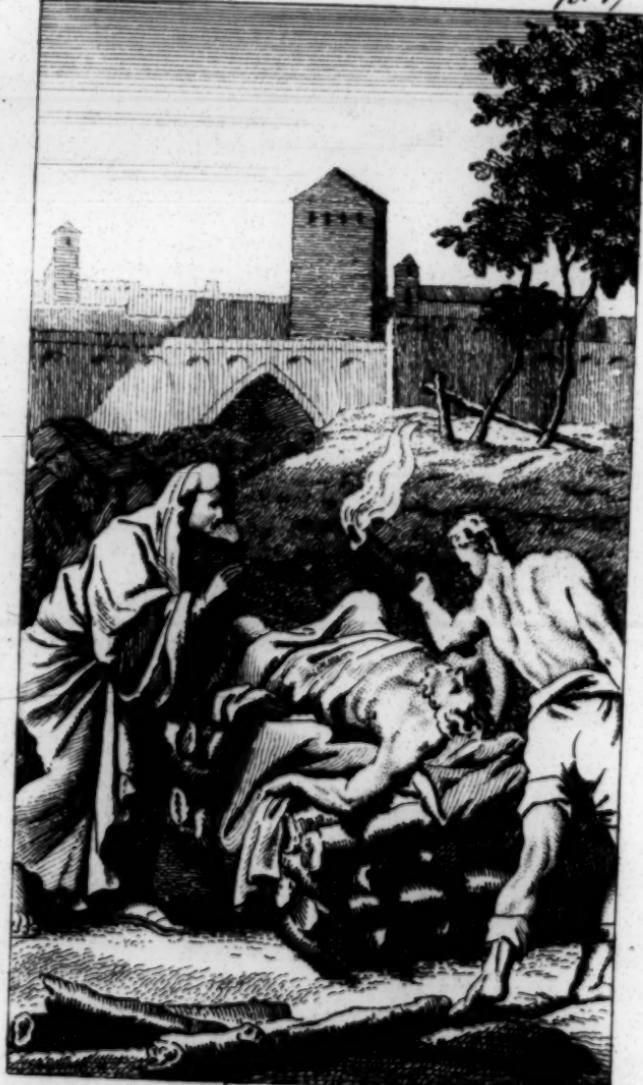
finding they would not attend to him, he added, *I condemn myself to die : but for these men, O Athenians ! why will you put them to death ? they have never injured you.* The populace answered, *because they are thy friends.* Some even proposed, that before *Phocion* died, he should be put to the torture ; but this was opposed ; however the suffrages being taken, they were unanimously sentenced to suffer death.

They were then sent to prison, when the companions of *Phocion*, were so affected by the sorrow of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the streets, and to wish them a last farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate with a flood of tears : but *Phocion* still retained the same countenance, as he had shewn when quitting the assembly, he went to take upon him the command of armies, and when the *Athenians* attended him in crowds to his own house, with the voice of praise and acclamations. One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, came up to him, and spit in his face ; but turning to the archons, he only said, “ Will no body hinder this man from acting so unworthily ? ” On his arrival at the prison, one of his friends asking him, if he had any message to send to his son ? “ Yes, certainly, replied he, command him from me, to forget the injustice of the *Athenians.* ” Having all drank the juice of hemlock, the quantity was found insufficient, and the executioner refused to prepare more, except he was paid twelve drachmas.

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Some delay being therefore made, *Phocion* said to one of his friends, “ What cannot a man die on free cost among the *Athenians*? ” and then desired him to give the executioner the trifling sum he demanded *.

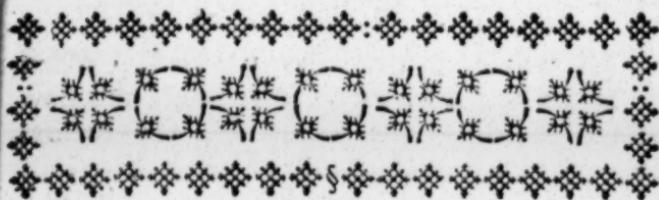
On that day there was a public procession on horseback in honour of *Jupiter*, and as it passed before the prison, some of the horsemen who composed it, took their crowns from their heads, others turned their eyes to the prison, and burst into tears, and all whose minds were not entirely perverted by rage or envy, and had any remains of humanity and religion, acknowledged it to be the highest instance of barbarity and impiety, not to abstain at least on that solemn day from the commission of so great a crime. But *Phocion*’s enemies, as if their triumph was not yet complete, made an order, that his body should be carried out of the *Athenian* territories, and that no *Athenian* should be allowed to provide wood for the funeral pile. These last offices were therefore rendered to him in the territories of *Megara*. A lady of the country, who accidentally assisted with her servants at his funeral, erected on the spot an honorary monument, and made the customary libations to the deceased, then carefully gathering up into her robe the bones of this great man, she conveyed them into her

* This great man, was thus put to death by his ungrateful country, in the 318th year before the christian æra.

house by night, and buried them under her hearth, thus addressing her household gods :
“ O ye deities ! guardians of this hearth, to
“ you I confide these remains of the most
“ excellent *Phocion*. Preserve them safe, and
“ restore them one day to the sepulchre of his
“ ancestors, when the *Athenians* shall have
“ learnt wisdom.”

Indeed, in a very short time, they found by experience, what an excellent governor, what a patron of justice and virtue they had lost. They then decreed him a brazen statue, and ordered that his bones should be honourably interred at the public expence. *Agnonides*, one of his accusers, was then condemned and put to death, and the two others fled the city for fear ; but being met by *Phocion*, the son of *Phocion*, he slew them both.





T H E
L I F E
O F
CATO THE YOUNGER.

HIS extraordinary man was the great grandson of *Cato* the Censor, and was left an orphan, with his brother *Cæpio*, and *Porcia* his sister; who lived together in the house of *Livius Drusus*, their mother's brother, who was distinguished by his wisdom, his virtue, and his eloquence. *Cato* is said to have discovered in his infancy, a resolute, firm, and inflexible temper. He was rough and severe towards those that flattered him, but stubborn and untractable to those by whom he was threatened. He hardly ever laughed, and was seldom seen to smile. He was not easily provoked; but when once incensed

censed was with difficulty pacified. When he began to learn, he appeared dull and slow of apprehension, yet would ask the reason, and enquire into the cause of every thing.

When he was about fourteen years old, *Sarpedo* his schoolmaster used to take him to the house of *Sylla*, who used to talk familiarly to him and his brother; but *Cato* one day observing, that the heads of many men were brought thither, and that those who were present endeavoured to stifle their sighs, he asked *Sarpedo*, with a countenance full of rage, *Why no body killed the man? Because, said he, they fear more than they hate him. Why then, returned Cato, give me a sword, that I may stab him, and free my country.* This terrified his master, who hurried him away, and from thence forward took care to watch him strictly, lest he should engage in some desperate attempt.

On his being made one of the priests of *Apollo*, he changed his habitation, and took his share of the paternal inheritance. He now became intimately acquainted with *Antipater* the stoic philosopher, and chiefly applied himself to the study of morality and politics, seeming as if carried by a divine impulse to every virtue, and chiefly to that inflexible justice which is not to be moved by favour or compassion. He also studied the art of speaking in public; and whenever he did so, his speeches were rough, vehement, and full of tense; he had a grace in speaking that charmed the ear, and perfectly agreed with the

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the shortness of his sentences; besides the mirth and raillery that were mingled with his gravity, pleased the auditors. His voice was full, and loud enough to be heard by a great multitude, and he had such strength of lungs, that he could speak a whole day without being much fatigued.

An estate being left him by one *Cato*, his cousin german, worth a hundred talents, he sold it, and kept the money for any of his friends who might happen to want, to whom he would lend it without interest; and to serve them, he mortgaged his own land and his slaves to the public treasury. In the servile war against *Spartacus*, *Cato* went a volunteer, to accompany his brother *Cæpion*, whom he tenderly loved, and who was a tribune in the army; but the ill conduct of *Gellius* the general afforded him no opportunity of exerting his courage: but amidst the corruption and luxury of that army, he shewed such a love of discipline, and such wisdom in his whole conduct, that the general would have decreed him considerable honours: but these he refused, because he said he had done nothing to deserve them.

He was at length chosen military tribune, and sent into *Macedonia*. There went with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends: these rode on horseback; but *Cato* always went on foot, yet kept up with them, and conversed with them by turns on the way. On his reaching the army, which consisted of many legions, the general gave him

him the command of one; on which he resolved to try to make his soldiers like himself; for this purpose he joined reason to his authority, and having instructed them in every part of their duty, bestowed rewards or punishments on all according to their deserts. Thus his men became so well disciplined, that it was difficult to determine, whether they were more peaceable, or warlike; more brave, or more just: they were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their companions; fearful to do wrong, and eager to gain honour. By this means *Cato* acquired glory without seeking it; he became esteemed by all men, and beloved by the soldiers. Whatever he commanded to be done, he himself helped to perform. In his food, his apparel, and manner of marching, he resembled a common soldier rather than an officer, but in wisdom and virtue he exceeded every commander in the army.

There lived at that time at *Pergamus* *Athenodorus*, the stoic philosopher, who was now grown old, and being fond of independency, had always declined an acquaintance with princes, and great men. *Cato* desired to listen to his instructions; but being sensible that he should never be able to prevail on him, either by letters or messengers, to leave his retirement, and come to the camp; he resolved to take advantage of the laws, which allowed him to be absent two months from the army, and to go into *Asia* in quest of so valuable

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valuable an acquisition. *Cato* accordingly went, and after some discourse, prevailed on him to quit his former resolutions; and at his return, brought him with him to the army, with as much joy as if he had performed some heroic exploit.

While *Cato* was in the army, he received letters from his brother, who being on a journey towards *Asia*, was taken ill at *Aenus* in *Thrace*. Nothing could prevent his going to visit him; for though the sea was very rough, no large vessel being to be had, he got into a little passage-boat, and with two of his friends and three servants, set sail from *Theffalonica*, and after his having narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at *Aenus*, just after *Cæpio* had expired. *Cato* upon this melancholy occasion shewed more of the fond brother than of the philosopher; he burst into tears and lamentations, embraced the dead body, and shewed all the signs of the most violent grief. Afterwards he caused a vast quantity of rich perfumes and costly garments to be burnt on the funeral pile, and there erected a monument for *Cæpio* of *Thacian* marble, in the Forum of the *Aenians*.

The time *Cato* was to serve in the army being expired, he was honoured at his departure, not only by the ordinary vows and prayers for his safety, but with numberless tears and embraces; the soldiers spread their garments at his feet, and kissed his hand as he passed along: an honour, which, in that age, the *Romans* shewed to few of their generals.

nerals. He now resolved, before he returned to *Rome*, to travel over *Asia*, in order to observe the manners and customs of every province. He was also willing to gratify *Deiotarus*, king of *Galatia*, who having had a great friendship for his father, invited him thither. His journies were ordered in the following manner: he sent early in the morning his baker and cook to the place where he proposed to lodge the next night: these went quietly into the town, and if no friend of *Cato*, or his family, lived there, they provided for him in an inn; but if there were none, they applied to the magistrates to help them to lodgings, and always appeared satisfied with what was allotted them. This modest behaviour frequently rendered them discredited by the magistrates, so that *Cato* sometimes arrived before any thing was provided for him; and indeed he himself, when he came, was often slighted and despised; for sitting silent on his baggage, he was considered as a contemptible mean spirited fellow: he therefore sometimes called the magistrates together, and reproved them to this purpose: "Ye wretches, lay aside this inhospitable disposition; for you will not always meet with a *Cato*: let your civility, therefore, leave no room for those to shew their power, who desire but a pretence to take from you by force what you give with such reluctance." But afterwards *Pompey* made the people ashamed of their ignorance and folly: for *Cato*, in his journey to *Ephesus*,

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fus, going to pay his respects to him, Pompey, who was the elder man, and the general of a great army, rose up, and going to meet him, gave him his hand, and embraced him. He also said many things in praise of *Cato's* virtue while he was present, and still more after he was gone. After this, all the cities through which he passed strove to exceed each other in the respect they shewed him.

King *Deiotarus* being old, had sent for *Cato*, in order to recommend his children and family to his protection; and on his arrival, pressed him to accept a variety of presents he had provided for him: at which *Cato* was so offended, that though he came in the evening, he left him the next morning: but the following night, he found at *Pessinus* a greater number of presents provided for him, with letters from the king, entreating him to accept them. "At least, said he, permit thy friends to take them. They deserve well at thy hands, and thine estate will not permit thee to reward them according to their merits." However, he would not suffer it, though he found some of them very willing to receive the gifts, and ready to complain of his scrupulosity.

On his return to *Rome*, he, for the most part, spent his time either at home in the conversation of *Athenodorus*, or at the Forum in the service of his friends. On his being old enough to sue for the quæstorship, he declined putting up for it till he had studied the laws relating to that office. Thus instructed,

he no sooner entered into this new post, than he introduced a great reformation among the clerks and under officers of the treasury. Finding that there were many debts of long standing due to the state, and that the state was also indebted to many private persons, he strictly exacted what was due to the treasury, and freely paid all those to whom it was indebted. Hence it was said, that *Cato* made the office of quæstor equal in dignity to that of consul.

There were at this time many whom *Sylla* had employed as executioners in the last proscription, each of whom he had rewarded with 12,000 drachmas: but though these wretches were universally hated, none had the courage to prosecute them. *Cato*, however, called those to an account who had thus got the public money, which he obliged them to refund, and at the same time, with just indignation, upbraided them for their cruel and impious actions; after which they were accused of murder, and being soon found guilty, suffered accordingly. The people now rejoiced, and considered the death of these wretches as the total extirpation of tyranny. They were also pleased with *Cato's* indefatigable diligence. He was always the first at the treasury, and the last who left it. He was never absent from any assembly of the people, or sitting of the senate, where he opposed all, who, from partiality to particular persons, voted for remitting the fines and customs due to the state; and at length

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length made it appear, that the state might be rich without oppressing the people.

Pompey finding that it was impossible either to persuade or to compel *Cato* to favour his unjust designs, endeavoured to prevent his constant attendance at the senate, by engaging him in pleading causes, and deciding the differences among his friends. But *Cato* soon seeing through this artifice, told all his acquaintance, that he would never concern himself with any private business while the senate was assembled.

Clodius, a seditious orator, striving to raise commotions, and traducing the priests and vestals, *Cato* boldly opposed him, and made him appear so infamous, that he was obliged to leave the city. For this *Cicero* returned him his thanks, on which he answered, “Thou must thank the common wealth, for whose sake I do every thing.” His veracity became so conspicuous, that an advocate in a cause wherein there was only one witness, told the judges, *They ought not to rely on the testimony of a single witness, though it were Cato himself.*

He had for some time declined standing for the tribuneship; but *Metellus Nepos* putting up for that office, he hastily left his country-seat at *Lucania*, and the next morning went to the Forum, where he began to solicit for it, in opposition to *Metellus*. The power of this office rather consists in controuling, than in performing any business; for if one tribune dissents, though all the rest of his colleagues

agree, his dissent is sufficient to put a stop to the proceeding. At first *Cato* had only a few friends that appeared for him; but his design was no sooner known, than he was joined by all the men of virtue, for they did not consider him as one who desired a favour for himself, but as one who strove to serve his country, and all good men; and it is said that such a multitude flocked about him, that he was in danger of being stifled, and could scarce press through the crowd into the Forum. He was therefore declared tribune, with several others, and *Metellus* among the rest.

Cato was no sooner chosen into this office, than observing that the election of consuls was determined by bribes, he severely rebuked the people for their corruption, and threatened to accuse whomsoever he should find giving money. He accordingly accused *Lucius Murena*, who was chosen consul with *Silanus*, who had married his sister; and there being a law that the accused might set a spy on the accuser, *Murena* appointed one, who at first followed *Cato*, and watched him very strictly; but perceiving that his whole procedure was candid and open, he was filled with surprize and admiration at his justice and integrity; so that every morning on his meeting him, either in the Forum, or at his house, he asked, if he intended to do any thing that day relating to the accusation? and if *Cato* said No, he went away, relying with the utmost confidence on his word. At the trial, *Cicero*, who was then consul, and defended *Murena*,

so wittily ridiculed *Cato* and the stoic philosophers, that the judges laughed very heartily; upon which *Cato*, smiling, said, " My friends, we have a very merry consul." *Murena* was however acquitted, and during his consulship, was so far from shewing any resentment against *Cato*, that he advised with him in the most important affairs, and constantly treated him in the most honourable and respectful manner.

Cato had assisted *Cicero* while he was consul, in several important and difficult affairs, especially in preventing the success of *Catiline's* conspiracy; and after *Lentulus* and the rest of the conspirators were put to death, persuaded the senate to gain over the disorderly rabble by a distribution of corn, which cost the state twelve hundred and fifty talents.

Metellus no sooner entered into his office of tribune, than he began to hold tumultuous assemblies, and prepared a decree for recalling *Pompey* the Great with all his forces, under the pretence of preserving the city from *Catiline's* conspiracy; but really to deliver up the commonwealth into his hands, and to invest him with absolute power. Upon this the senate was assembled, when *Cato*, instead of attacking *Metellus* with his usual vehemence, spoke in the mildest terms, and condescending to use entreaties, extolled the family of *Metellus* for having constantly sided with the nobility. This rendered *Metellus* the more insolent, who openly threatening, *That in spite of the senate, he would do whatever he pleased*:

pleased: *Cato* at once changed his countenance, his voice and his language, and making a very severe speech, concluded with declaring, *That while he lived, Pompey should never enter the city in arms.* The senate considered *Metellus* as actuated by a detestable madness, and bent on introducing universal ruin and confusion: and *Cato*, as inspired by the enthusiasm of virtue, struggling for the preservation of justice, order, and the laws. At length, when the people were to give their votes on this decree, *Metellus*, before hand, took possession of the Forum with armed men, gladiators, strangers, and slaves, and was also assisted by *Cæsar*, who was then praetor. In the mean while, *Cato*'s whole family were under the most dreadful apprehensions on his account; his wife and friends bewailed and lamented him, and some of them neither eat nor slept all night. He himself, however, appearing without fear and anxiety, comforted and encouraged them; after supper, he went to bed at his usual hour, and the next morning was waked out of a sound sleep by *Minutius Thermus*, one of his colleagues. They went together to the Forum, accompanied by very few, but met with many who advised them to take care of themselves. *Cato* seeing the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* encompassed by armed men, and the ascent to it guarded by gladiators, with *Metellus* and *Cæsar* sitting above in the Forum, turned towards his friends, saying, "Behold that insolent coward, who has raised such a force against an unarmed man:" then going on with

with *Thermus*, those who kept the passages gave way to them, but would suffer none else to pass: *Cato*, however, taking *Minutius* by the hand, with great difficulty pulled him along with him, and going directly to *Metellus* and *Cæsar*, seated himself between them, to prevent their talking to each other: on which those of his party admiring his spirit and boldness, called out to him to have courage, and exhorted each other to stand together, and not betray their liberty, and its brave defender. The clerk then took the bill; but *Cato* ordered him not to read it: upon which *Metellus* taking it, would have read it himself; but *Cato* snatched it out of his hand. *Metellus* having the decree by heart, began now to repeat it; but *Thermus* clapping his hand on his mouth, stopped his speaking. Upon this, *Metellus*, seeing that they were fully resolved to oppose him, and that the people were on their side, sent for a number of armed men, who rushing in with great noise and fury, all his opposers fled except *Cato*, who stood still, while the other party threw sticks and stones at him from above; but *Murena* coming up, held his gown before him, and called out to them to desist. Then persuading and pulling him along, brought him into the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. *Metellus* now seeing that the friends of liberty had fled out of the Forum, imagined that he should easily gain his point, and therefore ordered the soldiers to retire. He now began in a regular manner to pass the decree: when the others recollecting themselves, boldly returned

turned with loud shouts ; on which the adherents of *Metellus* imagining that they had been to furnish themselves with arms, were struck with terror and fled. *Cato* again came forward, encouraged the people, and praised their zeal, on which the multitude were for deposing *Metellus* from his office. The senate being also reassembled, gave orders for supporting *Cato*, and opposing the decree. On which *Metellus* rushing suddenly into the Forum, and assembling the people, made an invidious speech against *Cato*, crying, that he was obliged to fly from his tyranny, and from this conspiracy against *Pompey*, who would soon make the citizens repent the dishonour they had done to that great man. He then set out for *Asia*, to inform *Pompey* of all that had passed.

Cato obtained great honour by his having thus freed the state from the dangerous tribuneship of *Metellus* ; but he was still more admired, for putting a stop to a design formed by the senate, of disgracing and deposing that tribune. The people here admired his moderation in not insulting the enemy he had overthrown, and the wife extolled his prudence and policy in not exasperating *Pompey*.

When *Lucullus* returned from *Asia*, *Cato* prevented his losing his triumph ; and when *Pompey* was returning, he alone hindered the senate complying with his request to defer the assembly for the choice of consuls, till he could be present to assist *Piso*, who stood for that office. This made *Pompey* imagine that he should frequently fail in his designs,

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signs, unless he could engage *Cato* in his interest. He therefore sent *Minutius* to *Cato* with the proposal of marrying his two nieces, or as some say his daughters, offering to take the eldest for himself, and the other for his son. *Minutius* mentioned the affair to *Cato* in the presence of his wife and sisters, who seemed much pleased with the alliance: but *Cato* immediately answered, “ Go, *Minutius*, and tell *Pompey*, that he must not think of taking *Cato*, by gaining over the women to his side. However, I value his kindness, and while he acts with justice and honour, he shall find my friendship stronger than any alliance; but I will not give hostages to the glory of *Pompey*, against the safety of my country.” This answer displeased the women; but afterwards when *Pompey* endeavoured by bribery to obtain the consulship for one of friends, they acknowledged that he acted wisely in refusing the offer, since they would have been dishonoured by his faults. But if we may be permitted to judge by the event, it would have been happy for the Romans, if *Cato* had not rejected this alliance, which would have perverted the match that united the power of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, which, by rendering the former too great, prepared the way for his destroying the Roman republic.

Cæsar was no sooner declared consul elect, than he married *Julia* his daughter to *Pompey*, and both uniting against the commonwealth, the one proposed laws for dividing the

the lands among the poor, and the other seconded the proposal. *Cato*, who thought this alliance very dangerous to the state, declared, that he did not so much object to the division of the lands, as he feared the reward they would expect for doing the people this service: he therefore opposed it with all his power, in which he was joined by *Bibulus* the other consul, *Lucullus*, *Cicero*, and their friends: upon which *Cæsar* and his party applied to force, and obliged all who opposed him to quit the Forum. He now not only carried his point, but caused it to be ordained, that the senate should swear to confirm the law, inflicting severe penalties on those who should refuse the oath. All the senators being now terrified took the oath, except *Cato* and *Favonius*: the wife and sisters of the former entreated him with tears to take it too, while the rest of his friends joined in the same request; particularly *Cicero*, who used many arguments, and at length prevailed; *Cato* took it with reluctance, and *Favonius*, who regulated his actions by those of his friend, followed his example,

Elated with this success, *Cæsar* proposed a law for dividing almost all the country of *Campania* among the poor citizens; which none but *Cato* daring to oppose, *Cæsar* pulled him from the rostrum, and dragged him to prison: but *Cato* unintimidated, went along exclaiming against the law, and advising the people to put a stop to these proceedings; while the senate, and the most worthy citi-

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zens followed him with dejected looks. *Cæsar* now expected that *Cato* would soon either supplicate him, or appeal to the people; but at length finding that he would do neither, he privately sent one of the tribunes to set him at liberty.

This cabal having thus established their power, by gaining one part of the city by favour, and the other by fear, were still afraid of *Cato* and *Cicero*; the latter they therefore banished, and sent the former against his will in an expedition to *Cyprus*, to conquer *Ptolemy*, who reigned in that island, and also to restore those who had been banished from *Byzantium*. Upon this occasion *Cato* advised *Cicero* to make no resistance, least by throwing the state into confusion, he should occasion a civil war.

Cato sent before him to *Cyprus*, *Canidius*, one of his friends, to persuade *Ptolemy* to yield without resistance, promising that he should want neither riches nor honour, but should be made priest of *Venus* in the isle of *Paphos*. He himself staid at *Rhodes* in order to make some preparations, and to wait for an answer from *Cyprus*. In the mean while *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, who had quarrelled with his subjects, was sailing to *Rome* with the hopes that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* would restore him to his kingdom: but desiring to see *Cato*, sent for him; *Cato*, however, having taken a purge, answered, *That Ptolemy, if he pleased, might come to him*. When he came, *Cato* did not so much as rise up to him, but saluting him

him as an ordinary person, bid him sit down. *Ptolemy* was amazed at such stately behaviour in a man who made so mean an appearance: but was soon after no less astonished at the wisdom and freedom of his discourse: for *Cato* blamed his design, shewed him the honour and happiness he had quitted, and the mortifications to which he wou'd expose himself, with the immense bribes he must bestow on the leading men of *Rome*, whom all *Egypt*, if turned into silver, would scarcely satisfy: advising him to return home, and be reconciled to his subjects; and offering to go with him, to assist him in composing their differences. *Ptolemy* appeared like one recovered from a fit of madness, and acknowledging the wisdom of *Cato*, resolved to follow his advice; but being again over-persuaded by his friends, pursued his first design, and went to *Rome*, where he soon repented of his folly in rejecting such excellent advice.

In the mean time, the other *Ptolemy*, who was in *Cyprus*, poisoned himself, and it being reported that he had left great riches, *Cato* sent his nephew *Brutus* to *Cyprus*, and he himself went to *Byzantium*, where having reconciled the fugitives, and the people, he left the city in peace and tranquillity, and sailed to *Cyprus*, where he found a royal treasure, in jewels, plate, tables, fine purple, and other valuable effects, which he caused to be sold at as high a price as possible, and having thus raised 7000 talents of silver, returned to *Rome*. News being brought to that city that

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he was coming up the river, all the magistrates, the priests, and the whole senate, with great part of the people, went out to meet him ; and both the banks of the *Tyber* being covered with spectators, his entrance had all the honour of a triumph. The senate then assembling, decreed him an extraordinary *prætorship*, and the privilege of wearing his robe faced with purple at the public shews. These honours he however refused ; but in consideration of the fidelity and diligence of *Nicias*, *Ptolemy*'s steward, he desired the senate to give him his freedom.

Soon after *Pompey* and *Craffus* formed the design of soliciting a second time for the *consulship* ; on which all the other candidates desisted, except *Lucius Domitius*, who had married *Porcia*, the sister of *Cato*, who persuaded him to persist, since he would not only gain the *consulship*, but preserve the liberty of *Rome*. *Pompey*'s party fearing that he would obtain it, attacked *Domitius* as he was going before day-light to the *Campus Martius*, slew the man who carried the light next before *Domitius*, and having wounded several others, all the rest fled, except *Cato* and *Domitius* ; for though *Cato* was wounded in the arm, he held him, and conjured him to stay, and not forsake the defence of their liberty, against those tyrants, who plainly shew'd what use they would make of the power they obtained by such violence. But at length *Domitius*, unwilling to stand the danger, fled home,

Cato, in order to manage his contest with Pompey and Crassus to advantage, resolved to stand for the prætorship ; but by means of bribes and other artifices, they got *Vitinius* chosen into that office. *Cato* was, however, elected prætor the following year ; but he seems scarcely to have done more honour to the office by his integrity, than he brought contempt upon it by his singularities : for he often came to the court without his shoes, and sat on the bench without his gown, and thus dressed, gave judgment in capital causes.

At this time the people were extremely corrupted by the bribes of those who sued for offices, and many of them made a trade of selling their votes. But *Cato*, in order to root up this corruption, persuaded the senate to make an order, that the persons chosen into any office, should be obliged, though no one accused them, to come into court, and give an account upon oath of the manner in which they had obtained their election. This not only displeased those who stood for the offices, but those who took the bribes. Hence *Cato*, going one morning to the place where he decided causes, a multitude of people flocked together, and uttering the most opprobrious language, assaulted him with stones ; on which those who were about the tribunal fled, and *Cato*, being forced thence, and jostled in the crowd, with difficulty mounted the rostrum, where, with a bold undaunted

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daunted countenance, he silenced the clamour, and being heard with great attention, perfectly quelled the sedition. The senate afterwards commanding him for this he replied, “ But I do not commend you for abandoning your *prætor* when in danger, and bringing him no assistance.”

Marcus Favonius, a friend to the cause of liberty, and one who strove to imitate the virtues of *Cato*, standing for the office of *ædile*, was in danger of losing it; but *Cato* being there, observed, that all the votes were written in one hand, and thus discovering the cheat put in practice by his opponent, *Favonius* was elected. *Cato* assisted him in every thing belonging to his office, and took care of the shews exhibited in the theatre. To the actors *Cato* presented crowns, not of gold, but of the wild olive, like those given at the *Olympic* games. Instead of the expensive gifts usually bestowed on the people, to the *Grecians* he gave pears, radishes, lettuces, and leeks; and to the *Romans* he presented earthen vessels filled with wine, figs, cucumbers, pork, and little faggots of wood. At last, *Favonius*, mingling with the crowd, sat among the spectators, and acknowledging *Cato* as the director of the whole, joined with the rest in applauding him, and in calling out to him to bestow honours and rewards on those who performed well. At the same time *Curio*, *Favonius*’s colleague, exhibited very magnificent shews in another theatre; but the people leaving his, went to those of *Favonius*,

they being highly diverted at seeing him act the private man, and *Cato* the master of the shews. *Cato* thus designed to ridicule the conduct of others on these occasions, and to shew that sports should be exhibited in a sportive manner, with mirth and good humour, and not with ostentatious magnificence and expence.

Afterwards *Milo*, *Hypæsus*, and *Scipio* standing for the consulship, endeavoured to obtain it, not only by bribery and corruption, but by arms and slaughter, and seemed rushing with a desperate fury into a civil war; whence it was proposed, that *Pompey* should be impowered to preside over the election. *Cato* however observed, *That the laws ought not to seek protection from Pompey, but Pompey from the laws*: yet the confusion lasting for a long time, and no possibility appearing of putting a period to these disorders, *Cato* at length agreed, that since it was necessary to make use of a less evil to prevent a greater, the senate should freely confer the supreme power on *Pompey*. *Bibulus*, a relation of *Cato's*, therefore moved that *Pompey* should be created sole consul: when *Cato* standing up, to the surprise of every one, seconded the motion, and concluded with saying, *That any government was better than confusion, and that he did not question Pompey's acting honourably, and taking care of the commonwealth thus committed to his charge*. *Pompey*, on his being declared sole consul, invited *Cato* to his house in the suburbs; and when he came, saluted and embraced

braced him with great kindness, and acknowledging the favour he had done him, desired his advice and assistance in the management of his office. Cato answered, *That what he had formerly spoken was not out of hatred to Pompey, nor what he had spoken now out of love to him; but that his sole view was the good of the commonwealth: that if he asked him, he would freely give him his advice in private; but that in public he would always speak as he thought, without being asked.* Cato acted accordingly; for when Pompey proposed severe laws for punishing those who had corrupted the people with gifts, Cato wisely advised him, *to overlook what was already past, and to provide for the future; for should he search into past crimes, it would be difficult to know where to stop, and it would be unreasonable to punish men by a law which they had never broken.*

Cæsar in the mean while prosecuted the war in *Germany*; and, at the same time, by his presents, and his friends, encreased his power in the city. Pompey had been already, in some measure, awakened by the representations of Cato, and begun to have a faint view of the danger to which he had exposed himself by not attending to his advice. But Cato seeing him still unwilling to undertake any thing against Cæsar, resolved to stand for the consulship, and to force Cæsar either to lay down his arms, or to discover his intentions: but both Cato's competitors being

much beloved by the people, he lost his election.

Cæsar was then subduing many warlike nations, and among the rest invaded the *Germans*, who were at peace with the *Romans*, and slew 300,000 of them ; upon which some of his friends proposed that there should be a public thanksgiving ; but *Cato* observed, *That they ought to deliver Cæsar into the bands of those who had been so unjustly assaulted, in order to expiate the offence, that a curse might not fall on the city.* *We have reason to thank the gods,* added he, *for sparing the commonwealth, and not taking vengeance on his army for the madness of the general.*

When news was brought that *Cæsar* had taken *Ariminum*, and was marching towards *Rome*, all men cast their eyes on *Cato*, who alone had foreseen *Cæsar*'s intentions. And he then advised the senate to put all into the hands of *Pompey* ; for *they*, said he, *who are the authors of great evils, can best remove them.* *Pompey*, however, finding that he had not sufficient forces ; and that those he was capable of raising, were irresolute, left the city ; and *Cato* resolved to follow him. From that day it is said he never cut his hair, shaved his beard, nor wore a garland ; but filled with grief and dejection for the calamities of his country, wore the same habit, whatever party was successful.

The government of *Sicily* being allotted to *Cato*, he sailed to *Syracuse*, where hearing that *Pompey* had abandoned *Italy*, and lay encamped

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camped at *Dyrrachium*, he cried out, " How
" dark and intricate are the ways of heaven !
" Pompey, when he did nothing either ho-
" nestly or with wisdom, was always succe-
" ful ; and now, when he would preserve
" his country, and defend her liberty, he is
" unfortunate." Then advising the *Syra-
cusan*s to submit to the conqueror, and pro-
vide for their own safety, he again set sail.

On his coming to *Pompey*, he constantly ad-
vised him to prolong the war ; for he hoped
to compose matters ; and therefore would
not consent that the dispute should be decided
by a battle, since the commonwealth would
suffer extremely, whoever was the conqueror.
He likewise persuaded *Pompey* and the coun-
cil of war to ordain, that no city subject to
Rome should be sacked, and that no *Roman*
should be killed but in the heat of battle. He
thus acquired great honour, and many being
charmed with his moderation and humanity,
came over to *Pompey*'s party.

Afterwards going into *Asia* to assist those
who were raising men, and preparing ships
in those parts, he, by his persuasions, brought
over the people of *Rhodes* to his party, and
at length returned to *Pompey*, who had now a
great force both by sea and land. *Pompey* at
first designed to give *Cato* the command of
the navy, which consisted of no less than 500
ships of war, besides a prodigious number
of pinnaces and boats ; but recollecting, or
being reminded by his friends, that *Cato*'s
sole aim in all his actions being to free his
country

country from usurpation; if he had such power, *Cæsar* would be no sooner conquered, than *Cato* would oblige him to lay down his arms, and become subject to the laws. Therefore, though *Pompey* had before mentioned it to *Cato*, he made *Bibulus* commander of the fleet. This, however, did not at all diminish *Cato*'s zeal for the good of the public: for when they were ready to engage near *Dyrachium*, after *Pompey* and his officers had endeavoured in vain to animate the soldiers, who heard their speeches coldly and in silence, *Cato* spoke last, and expatiating with great emotion, on liberty, valour, death, and glory, and concluding with an invocation to the gods, as if they were present; the army seemed extremely affected, and gave such a shout as filled all their leaders with hope; then rushed on the enemy without fear of danger, and put them to flight: but *Pompey* neglecting to press the victory, rendered it incomplete. All the rest rejoiced and exulted in this success; *Cato* alone bewailed his country, and cursed the fatal ambition that had made so many brave *Romans* murder each other.

Pompey having left at *Dyrachium* a great quantity of arms and riches, with many of his friends and relations, and fifteen cohort under the command of *Cato*, followed *Cæsar* into *Thessaly*. *Cato* at length hearing of the defeat at *Pharsalia*, resolved, if *Pompey* was slain, to conduct those that were with him into *Italy*, and then retire as far from the tyranny

ny of *Cæsar* as possible, spending the remainder of his life in exile: but if *Pompey* were safe, to keep the army together for him. Thus resolved, he passed over to *Corcyra*, where the navy lay, and there offered to resign his command to *Cicero*, because he had been consul, and himself only prætor, but *Cicero* refusing it, prepared to set sail for *Italy*. At this *Pompey*'s son being greatly incensed, would have seized on *Cicero*, but *Cato* diverted him from that design, and in all probability saved *Cicero*'s life.

Cato imagining that *Pompey* would escape into *Egypt* or *Libya**, gave free liberty to those who were unwilling to accompany him, to depart, and then embarking with his troops, set sail. When he came to the coast of *Africa*, he met with *Sextus*, *Pompey*'s younger son, who informed him of his father's death in *Egypt*. All were afflicted at the news, and declared that they would follow no other leader but *Cato*; he therefore took upon him the command, and marched to the city of *Cyrene*, which immediately received him. Being there informed that *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s father in-law, had retired to king *Juba*, and that *Atius Varus*, whom *Pompey* had left governor of *Libya*, had joined him with all his forces, he marched towards him by land, it being then winter; *Cato* proceeding on foot at the head of his men. He found the affairs of *Scipio*

* That part of *Africa* which lies to the west of *Egypt*.

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and *Varus* in a very bad situation, on account of a misunderstanding between them, which induced them to make great submissions to king *Juba*, whose wealth and pride rendered him insupportably arrogant; but *Cato* mortified that haughty prince, and reconciled *Scipio* and *Varus*, whom *Juba* had treated as if they had been his subjects.

Having passed the winter here, they drew out their forces, when the whole army desired *Cato* to be their leader, and both *Scipio* and *Varus* offered him the command. But he said, *He would not break those laws he was endeavouring to defend; nor, while only Proprætor, command in the presence of a Proconsul*: Besides, the people thought it a good omen to have a *Scipio* command in *Africa*, and the very name inspired the soldiers with courage.

Soon after *Scipio* had the command, he resolved, by the persuasion of *Juba*, to put all the inhabitants of *Utica* * to the sword, for being in the interest of *Cæsar*; but this *Cato* would not suffer: he, in a council of war, invoked the gods, and exclaiming against this barbarity, with great difficulty saved those people from being inhumanly slaughtered. Afterwards, at the entreaty of the inhabitants, and by *Scipio*'s desire, *Cato* took upon himself the government of that city, to prevent its falling into *Cæsar*'s hands. It was advanta-

* See some account of the ruins of this once celebrated city in Dr. *Shaw*'s travels, inserted in *The World Displayed*, vol. xviii. pag. 30.

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geously situated, and was a place of great strength; *Cato* therefore repaired the walls, erected towers, and formed deep trenches, and strong ramparts round the town: he caused great quantities of corn to be brought, and made this city the chief magazine of the *Romans*. He endeavoured to persuade *Scipio* not to hazard a battle, but to use delay; because, in length of time, that spirit which is the chief support of tyranny, withers and dies away. But *Scipio* proudly rejected this prudent advice, and in a letter to *Cato*, wherein he reproached him with cowardice, asked, if he could not be contented with lying secure within his walls and trenches, without hindering others from shewing their courage. *Cato* answered, That he was ready to take the horse and foot he had brought into *Africa*, and to sail back to *Italy*, in order to draw *Cæsar* from him, upon himself. When *Scipio* also ridiculing this proposal, *Cato* publickly acknowledged, that he was sorry he had resigned the command to him, who, he saw, would not use his power wisely; and if contrary to all appearance, he should succeed, he would doubtless make an ill use of his success at home.

What *Cato* foresaw, happened sooner than he expected; for a person arrived about midnight from the army, with the news, that a great battle had been fought near *Thapsus*; that all was lost; that *Cæsar* had taken both the camps; and that *Scipio* and *Juba* had fled with a few followers, the rest being cut to pieces. The people were instantly so terrified,

that

that they could scarcely stay within the walls of the city : but *Cato* going out, and meeting them in this hurry and clamour, in some measure allayed their fear and amazement, by comforting and encouraging them. Having pacified the tumult for the present, the next morning he assembled the three hundred whom he used as his council : these were *Romans* who traded there in merchandize, and the exchange of money ; there were also some senators and their sons. Addressing these, he commended the courage and fidelity they had shewn in serving their country with their persons, money and counsel. Then entreated them not to separate, since, while they kept together, *Cæsar* would have less reason to despise them, if they fought against him, and be more ready to pardon them upon their submission. He therefore advised them to consult among themselves, promising not to be offended at whatever they should propose : since, if they thought fit to submit to fortune, he would impute their change to necessity ; but if they resolved to stand firm in the defence of liberty, he should commend and admire their valour, and would himself be both their leader and companion, till they had tried the fortune of their country, which was not Utica but Rome ; who, by her own strength, had often raised herself out of greater difficulties. Besides, many things conducted to their safety ; they were to fight with one distracted with the multiplicity of his affairs, and at the same instant called to different places : Spain had already revolted to the younger Pom-

pey ;

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pey; and Rome, unaccustomed to the bridle, would be ready upon any turn of affairs to recover her liberty. That they ought to take example from their enemy, who, to compass his unjust designs, so freely exposed his life, yet could not hope for so happy a conclusion as they might justly expect: since notwithstanding the uncertainty of war, they might be sure, if they succeeded, of a happy life; or if they failed, of a glorious death. Many were moved by this speech, and the greatest part of them were so animated by his intrepidity, generosity and humanity, that they forgot their present danger, and entreated him to employ their persons, arms and estates as he thought fit. One of the assembly proposed passing a decree for setting the slaves at liberty, and most of the rest approved the motion. But *Cato* observed, That it was neither just nor lawful; but if any of their masters would willingly set them free, those fit for service should be received. Many having promised this, he caused their names to be enrolled, and withdrew.

Soon after, *Cato* received letters from *Juba* and *Scipio*. The former was retired with a few of his men to a mountain, where he waited to hear *Cato*'s resolution, intending to stay for him if he left *Utica*, or to advance with his army to his assistance if he was besieged; and the latter lay at anchor under a promontory near *Utica*, expecting an answer on the same account; *Cato*, however, thought fit to detain the messengers till the three hundred came to some resolution. The senators

present shewed the greatest zeal, set their slaves free, and furnished them with arms: but the three hundred being merchants and usurers, and great part of their substance consisting in slaves, the impression made upon them by *Cato's* speech was of short continuance, and they no sooner began to reason among themselves, than the most moderate of them became filled with despondency; while the greatest part of them were for seizing the senators, that by securing them, they might appease the anger of *Cæsar*. But though *Cato* perceived this change, he took no notice of it.

Afterwards, a considerable body of horse advancing towards *Utica*, three of that body came to *Cato*, and informed him, that the soldiers were divided in their sentiments; some being for going to *Juba*, and others for joining *Cato*, while others were afraid of shutting themselves up in *Utica*. *Cato* immediately ordered *Marcus Rubricus* to attend the three hundred, and take the names of those who would freely set their slaves at liberty, and then went with the senators to meet the principal officers of the cavalry, whom he entreated not to abandon so many senators; but to unite for their mutual safety, and enter the city. Upon this, the officers went to consult their soldiers; while *Cato* sat down with the senators on a bank, expecting their resolution. In the mean time, *Rubricus* coming in great anger, said that the three hundred were raising tumults in the city: on which

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which the senators despairing of safety, burst into tears: but *Cato* endeavoured to comfort them, and sent to desire the three hundred to have a little patience. The officers of the horse then returned, and told him that they did not desire to serve *Juba* for his pay, nor should they fear *Cæsar* while they followed *Cato*; but they dreaded being shut up with the *Uticans*, men of a treacherous disposition, and of *Phænician* extraction, who, as soon as *Cæsar* should appear, would conspire together, and betray the *Romans*. Therefore, if he expected them to join him, he must drive out, or destroy all the *Uticans*, that he might receive them into a place free from enemies and Barbarians. *Cato*, thinking this exceeding cruel, mildly answered, that he would consult the three hundred.

He then returned to the city, where the merchants openly refused to make war against *Cæsar*; and some dropped a hint of detaining the senators till he came. At the same time, *Cato* was told that the horse were going away, and fearing lest the three hundred should take some desperate resolution with respect to the senators, he immediately went with some of his friends, and seeing they were already at a good distance, took horse, and rode after them. They received him very kindly, entreating him to save himself with them; but stretching out his hands, he with tears entreated them to stay that day, in order to procure a safe retreat for the senators. They consented, and going along with him,

some he placed at the gates of the city, and others in the citadel. The three hundred now began to fear that they should suffer for their inconstancy and sending for *Cato*, entreated him to come to them; but the senators flocking about him, said, they would not trust their guardian and preserver in the hands of perfidious traitors. But having pacified them, he went to the three hundred, who gave him many thanks, and entreated him to trust them for the future. Adding, that they had resolved to send to *Cæsar*, and entreat him in the first place for *Cato*, and if they could not prevail for him, they would not accept of pardon for themselves; but would lay down their lives in fighting for his defence. *Cato* commended them, advised their sending speedily, that they might provide for their own safety; but by no means ask any favour for him.

Cato then leaving the assembly, was informed that *Cæsar* was advancing with his whole army; on which he went to the senators, and urged them to make their escape, while the horsemen were in the city; and ordering all the gates to be shut except one towards the sea, with the greatest calmness, appointed ships for those who were to depart, and gave money and provisions to such as wanted; taking care to suppress all tumults, and suffering none to wrong the inhabitants.

At length he was informed that the horse were ready to go, and were plundering the people, as if their goods had been lawful spoils:

when

when running to them, he snatched from the first he met what he had taken, upon which the rest threw down all they had seized, and returned silent and ashamed. Then gaining the port, he embraced his friends and acquaintance whom he had persuaded to go; but there was one *Statylius*, a young man in the flower of his age, who distinguished himself by his enmity to *Cæsar*, and his being resolved to imitate *Cato*'s invincible constancy; him *Cato* entreated to depart; but he absolutely refused it, declaring that he was resolved to follow *Cato*'s example. Having thus dismissed the rest, he gave audience, and spent that night and the greatest part of the following day in dispatching business.

Then returning home, he called together his son and his friends, to whom he discoursed on several subjects; and among the rest forbade his son's engaging in state affairs: "For to act in them in a manner worthy of " *Cato*, said he, is now impossible; and to " do otherwise would be dishonourable." He afterwards went to supper with a great deal of company. After which he conversed with much wit and learning, and many philosophical questions were discussed, among which was this maxim of the Stoicks, *That the good man alone is free, and all the wicked slaves*. This was opposed by the Peripatetics; but *Cato* defended it with great warmth; and raising his voice, expatiated upon it with such vehemence, that they all saw he was resolved to free himself by taking away his life. When

he had done, the company sat dejected and silent. On which *Cato*, to prevent their suspecting any design, turned the discourse, and talked with great concern of his friends who were putting out to sea, and of the others who were travelling by land, and would be obliged to pass through a dry and barren desert.

When the company were gone, *Cato*, as usual, walked with his friends after supper; gave the necessary orders to the officers of the guard; and then retiring into his chamber, embraced his son and his friends with unusual warmth. After this he laid himself down, and taking *Plato's* dialogue on the immortality of the soul, read above half of it: then looking up, he saw that his sword was not hanging at his bed's head; for while he was at supper his son had taken it away. Upon this he called his servant, and asked for it; and the servant making no answer, he continued reading. Soon after he mildly ordered it to be brought to him: but as they still delayed bringing it, when he had finished the whole dialogue, he called up his servants one by one, and in an angry tone asked them for it; then becoming more exasperated, he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his hand; and raising his voice, exclaimed, *That he was betrayed, and delivered up to the enemy by his son and his servants.* Immediately his son, with the rest of his friends, came running into the room, and falling at his feet, began to use tears and entreaties: but *Cato* rising up, with a look of resent-

resentment and indignation, cried, “ When
“ and how did I fall distracted, that I must
“ be disarmed? and thou, young man, why
“ dost thou not bind thy father’s hands be-
“ hind him, that when *Cæsar* comes he may
“ find me unable to defend myself. How-
“ ever, I do not need a sword to put an end
“ to my life: I need but hold my breath, or
“ strike my head against the wall.” His son
went weeping out of the chamber, and all the
rest with him, except *Demetrius* and *Apolloni-
des*; to whom he thus in a calmer manner ad-
dressed himself, “ Do you think to keep a-
“ live by force, a man of my age? or can
“ you prove that it is not an action base and
“ unworthy, for *Cato* to seek his safety from
“ an enemy? Why do you not persuade us
“ to unlearn what we have been taught, that
“ rejecting the opinions we have hitherto
“ established, we may by *Cæsar’s* means learn
“ wisdom. Not that I am come to any de-
“ termination concerning myself, but I would
“ have it in my power to perform what I shall
“ think fit to resolve. When I have occa-
“ sion to use what your philosophy teaches, I
“ shall not fail to consult you. In the mean
“ time tell my son, that he should not com-
“ pel his father, where he cannot persuade.”
To this they made no answer, but went weep-
ing out of the chamber.

The sword being brought in by a little
boy, *Cato* drew it out, and feeling its point,
cried, “ Now I am master of myself:” then
laying down the sword, he returned to his
book;

book ; after which he slept so soundly that he was heard to snore. About midnight, he called up *Cleanthes*, his physician, and *Butas*, whom he principally employed in public affairs, and having sent the latter to the port, to see if all his friends had set sail, he had his hand dressed by the physician, it being inflamed by the blow he had given his servant : at which all rejoiced, hoping that he now resolved to live.

After a while *Butas* returned, bringing word that they were all gone except *Craffus*, who was ready to depart, but that the wind was high, and the sea rough. At this *Cato* sighed, and sent *Butas* again, who quickly returned, and told him that every thing was quiet in the haven. When *Cato* lying down as if he would sleep, bid him shut the door after him : but *Butas* was no sooner gone than he stabbed himself under the breast ; and struggling fell out of the bed. Immediately his son and his friends came running into the room, where finding him weltering in his blood, with part of his bowels out of his body, they were all struck with grief and terror. The physician going to him, would have replaced his bowels, which were not pierced, and have sewed up the wound. But *Cato* upon this coming to himself, thrust him from him, and tearing open the wound, plucked out his bowels, and expired.

In a very short time all the 300 were at the door, and soon after the people of *Utica* flocked



Cato tearing out his own Bowels

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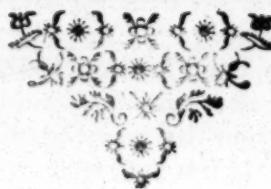
flocked thither, crying aloud, that he was their benefactor and their saviour ; the only free, and the only invincible man. At the same instant news arrived that *Cæsar* was coming ; but neither the fears arising from their present danger, nor the desire of flattering the conqueror, nor the discord among themselves, could prevent their adorning the body of *Cato*, making a magnificent funeral, and burying him near the sea side : but this being done, they returned to consider of preserving themselves and their city.

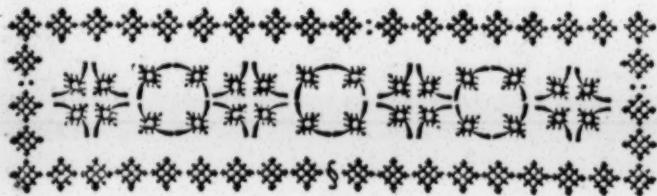
As *Cæsar* had been informed that *Cato*, after having sent away the rest of the *Romans*, staid very unconcernedly at *Utica* with his son and a few of his friends, he could not conceive what was his design ; but having a great esteem for him, he halted thither with his army. On his hearing of *Cato*'s death, it is said, he cried, “ *Cato*, I envy thee thy “ death, since thou hast envied me the pre-“ servation of thy life.”

Cato died when he was forty-eight years of age * ; and his son suffered no injury from *Cæsar*. He however never lost his love of liberty ; for after *Cæsar*'s death, he fought in its defence against *Octavius* and *Antony* at the battle of *Philippi*, when the army being broken, he disdained to fly ; and calling out to the enemy told them who he was, and animated those of his own party, who yet stood

* In the 45th year before the christian æra.

their ground, till he at last fell, leaving his enemies filled with admiration at his bravery. Nor was *Cato's* daughter, the wife of *Brutus*, inferior in prudence and greatness of spirit to the rest of her family. In short, *Statyllus*, who boldly declared that he would imitate *Cato*, was at that time hindered from doing it, by the philosophers, when he would have put an end to his life. He was afterwards attached to *Brutus*, to whom he behaved with the utmost fidelity, and died in the field of *Philippi*.





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WHEN the love of gold and silver once found admission into the city of *Sparta*, and afterwards introduced avarice, fraud, rapine, luxury, sloth, and effeminacy, and when these had broken down the barriers, which the wisdom of *Lycurgus* had formed in order to exclude them for ever, *Sparta* beheld herself fallen from her ancient power and glory, and was reduced to an humble and abject state, which continued till the reign of *Agis* and *Leonidas*. *Agis* was of the family of *Eurytion*, and was the sixth descendant from

Agis-

*Agestianus**, who made an expedition into *Asia*; and *Leonidas*, the son of *Cleonymus*, was of the family of the *Agidæ*, and the eighth prince that reigned in *Sparta* after *Pausanias*, who defeated *Mardonius* in the battle of *Plataæ*.

Though the *Spartans* in general were depraved and perverted by the general corruption; this depravity and remoteness from the ancient manners of that people, was most conspicuous in the conduct of *Leonidas*; who had for several years resided among the great men of *Perſia*; had long made his court to king *Seleucus*, and had afterwards used his utmost endeavours to introduce all the pomp and luxury of the East into a free country, and a *Grecian* commonwealth founded on justice and moderation.

Agis was the reverse of this character; for though he had been tenderly educated amidst the riches and luxury of a house remarkable for being voluptuous and haughty, yet before he was twenty years of age, he resisted the allurements of pleasure. His person was handsome and graceful; but to give a check to his vanity, he made it his glory to appear in a plain habit, and to imitate the old *Spartan* frugality and temperance, in his diet, bathing, and all his exercises, openly declaring, *That he would not value being king, were it not for the hopes of reviving the ancient laws and discipline of Sparta.*

* The reader may see the life of *Agestianus* in vol. v. of this work.

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The *Lacedæmonians* might date the beginning of their corruption from the ruin of the *Athenian* government *, from which time they began to abound in gold and silver. However, the partition of lands made by *Lycurgus*, and the number of hereditary possessions he had established, having been long preserved, and each father transmitting his part, in the manner he himself had received it, this order and equality suspended, in some measure, the ill effects of the abuses which prevailed. But this prudent institution no sooner began to be struck at, by a law that permitted every man to dispose of his house and patrimony in his own life time, or to leave them by will to whomsoever he pleased, than the best foundation of the *Spartan* polity was effectually sapped. This law was introduced by *Epitades*, one of the *ephori*, in order to be revenged on his son, whose conduct had displeased him. From this time men in power got possession of many estates, by the exclusion of the right heirs, and all the wealth coming into few hands, the generality of the people were poor and miserable: they sunk into a mean indolence of mind, which extinguished that ardour for virtue and glory, which till then had rendered the *Spartans* superior to the other Grecian states; and left only an implacable

* This was when *Lysander*, after taking the city of *Athens*, and placing in it thirty tyrants, sent a great quantity of the money he had seized to *Sparta*. See *The life of Lysander* in vol. iv. of this work, p. 56-57.

envy and hatred of those who had divested them of their possessions. There did not remain above 700 of the old *Spartan* families, and not many more than a hundred of these had estates in land : the rest were destitute of both wealth and honour, and were abroad sluggish and inactive in war, and at home ever greedy of novelty and charge. Such was the state of *Sparta*, when *Agis* entertained the noble design of increasing the number of the citizens, and bringing them back to their original equality. Contrary to his expectation he found that all the young men were disposed to enter into his views, while most of those in years, in whose minds corruption had taken the deepest root, trembled at the very name of *Lycurgus*. He began by gaining over *Agestlaus*, his uncle, a man of great eloquence and reputation; but fond of money; which rendered him the more favourable to the designs of *Agis*; for being ready to sink under a load of debts, he hoped, by changing the form of government, to discharge them without any expence to himself. *Agis* then endeavoured by his means to gain over his mother, who was the sister of *Agestlaus*, and being exceeding rich, had, by her many debtors and friends, great power in the city, and a considerable share in the management of public affairs. The design was no sooner mentioned to her, than she was struck with consternation, and employed all the arguments she could invent to persuade *Agis* from it; but when *Agis* made her sensible of the great advantages

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vantages that would accrue to *Sparta*, from the execution of such a design, and represented the glory her family would for ever derive from it, both she and her mother, with those of her own sex with whom she was most intimate, were so struck with the beauty of the project, and the noble ambition of the young prince, that they pressed *Agis* to enter upon the execution of it as soon as possible, and sent to exhort their friends to concur with them in that affair.

The other women of fortune, however, unanimously opposed the designs of *Agis*; for they foresaw, that the plain manner of life he was endeavouring to re-establish, would not only be destructive to all their luxurious pleasures, but divest them of the power and honour they derived from their wealth. In the consternation this proposal gave them, they addressed themselves to *Leonidas*, conjuring him, as his age gave him an ascendant over *Agis*, to employ all his authority, in dissuading his colleague from the execution of his scheme. *Leonidas* was inclined to support the rich, but dreading the indignation of the people, who wished for this change, he did not dare to oppose *Agis* openly, but contented himself with doing it by indirect methods; in a private conference he had with the magistrates, he accused him of aiming at a tyrannical power, to obtain which he intended to bribe the poor with the estates of the rich, to cancel all debts, and make a general distribution of lands, not that he might increase

the number of *Spartan* citizens, but that he might raise a body of guards for the security of his person.

Agis having in the mean time caused *Ly-
sander*, who concurred with him, to be elected
one of the *ephori*, brought into the council
a decree which he himself had drawn up, the
principal articles of which were these: 'That
all debts should be remitted: that all the
lands should be divided into equal shares:
those between the valley of *Pellene* and mount
Taygetus, into 4500 lots, and the remainder
into 15000: that these last were to be divided
among those inhabitants of the adjacent parts
who were fit to bear arms; the first among the
Spartans, the deficiency of whose number
should be supplied by admitting young, ac-
tive, and well educated strangers; and that
all these should at the times of repast be dis-
posed into fifty halls, the least of which should
contain two hundred, and the largest four hun-
dred; and that they were to be subject to the
same manner of life and discipline as their
ancestors.

This decree being opposed by those senators,
whose sentiments differed from those of *Agis*,
*Ly-
sander* summoned an assembly of the people,
and himself, *Mandroclidas* and *Agesilaus*, ex-
horted them not to suffer the majesty of *Sparta*
to continue covered with contempt, only to
gratify the pride and insolence of the wealthy.
King *Agis* then advancing into the middle
of the assembly, after a short speech, said
he would divide among them all his pa-
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trimony, consisting of large tracts of arable and pasture lands, besides 600 talents in ready money, and that his mother, and grandmother, with his other friends and relations, who were the richest persons in *Sparta*, were ready to follow his example. The people were astonished at the magnanimity of their young king, and transported with joy at their being at last so happy, as to behold a prince worthy of *Sparta*.

Leonidas now opposed *Agis* with more eagerness than ever, and asked him with a loud voice, If he did not think *Lycurgus* a wise and good man? *Agis* answered, that he always considered him as such. "Where dost thou find then, retorted *Leonidas*, that *Lycurgus* ever ordained an abolition of debts, or gave the freedom of *Sparta* to strangers? I am not surprised, answered *Agis*, that *Leonidas*, who was educated in foreign countries, and has taken a wife out of the *Perian* court, should not know that *Lycurgus* abolished all debts, by banishing gold and silver from the city; and that the strangers he excluded were none but those who could not accommodate themselves to the regulations he had established. For it is well known, that *Terpander*, *Thales* and *Pherecydes*, tho' strangers, were highly honoured at *Sparta*, because their poetry and philosophy were always agreeable to the maxims of *Lycurgus*."

From this time the common people followed *Agis*, but the rich men ranged themselves

under *Leonidas*, entreating him not to abandon them ; they solicited the senators, by whom all proposals were to be examined, before they could be confirmed by the people ; and their solicitations were so effectual, that the decree was rejected.

Upon this *Lysander* determined to prosecute *Leonidas*, in virtue of an ancient law, by which the descendants of *Hercules* were prohibited espousing a foreign woman ; and which made it death for any *Spartan* to settle in a foreign country. Sufficient witnesses were produced who proved, that *Leonidas* had offended in these particulars, and *Cleombrotus*, his son in-law, who was of the royal race, was persuaded to lay claim to the crown. On which *Leonidas*, fearing the event, fled to the temple of *Minerva*, with the wife of *Cleombrotus*, who left her husband to follow her father ; and he being cited, and not appearing, was divested of his royalty, which was transferred to *Cleombrotus*.

Lysander having quitted his employment soon after this revolution, the usual time for holding it being then expired, the new ephori commenced a prosecution against him and *Mandroclides*, for having, contrary to the laws, voted for the abolition of debts, and a new distribution of lands ; when they finding that they were in danger of being condemned, persuaded the two kings, that if they were united, they would have no cause of uneasiness from the decrees of the ephori, who might indeed decide between them when they

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they were divided in their sentiments; but had no right to interpose when they concurred in the same opinions. In order to improve this remonstrance *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* entered the assembly, and compelling the ephori to quit their seats substituted others in their stead, one of whom was *Agefilaus*. They then armed a company of young men, and gave orders for releasing the prisoners; upon which the other party were seized with the most terrible apprehensions, and expected to be put to the sword: but there was no blood spilt; on the contrary, *Agis* being informed, that *Agefilaus* had ordered a company of soldiers to lie in wait for *Leonidas* in his retreat to *Tegaea*, had the humanity to send him a guard to conduct him safely to that city.

Thus every thing went on prosperously, none daring to make the least opposition; but this excellent design, so worthy of *Sparta*, was defeated by the avarice of a single man. *Agefilaus* was much in debt, but had one of the largest and best estates in the country, and being both unable to pay his creditors, and unwilling to part with his land, he persuaded *Agis*, that if both the regulations should be made at the same time, they might occasion some dangerous commotion; but if the debts were first cancelled, the rich would afterwards be more easily induced to consent to a division of the land. *Agis* and *Lysander* were deceived by this artifice; and all persons were ordered to bring their bonds and obligations

obligations into the market place, where being laid on a heap they were burnt to ashes. This the usurers and other creditors beheld with great concern; but *Agesilaus* in an insulting manner cried, *That his eyes had never before seen so bright and clear a flame.*

Immediately after, the people demanded a distribution of the lands, and each of the kings gave orders for its being done, but *Agesilaus* continually starting fresh difficulties, prevented its accomplishment; till *Agis* was obliged to march at the head of an army, to the assistance of the *Achaeans*, who expected that the *Aetolians* would attempt to enter *Peloponnesus* through the territory of *Megara*. *Agis* set out with all possible expedition, the soldiers expressing incredible joy at their marching under his command. Most of them were young men in very low circumstances, who now saw themselves discharged from all their debts, and were in expectation of sharing the lands at their return from this expedition; on which account they shewed the utmost affection for their leader.

Agis joined *Aratus* near *Corinth*, at the very instant when he was deliberating in a council of war, whether he should hazard a battle. The king of *Sparta* declared for coming to an engagement, and did not think it adviseable to suffer the enemy to enter *Peloponnesus*; but modestly added, that he would submit to the judgment of *Aratus*, not only as the elder and most experienced officer, but as the general of the *Achaeans*, whose forces he came

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to assist, and not to command. *Aratus* was however of a contrary opinion, and therefore, having thanked the confederates, dismissed them.

Agis, on his return to *Sparta*, found a great change in the state of affairs. *Agefilaus* being now one of the *ephori*, and by that means freed from the fear that formerly kept him under some restraint, was solely intent on the gratification of his avarice, by acts of injustice and oppression: when finding that he became the object of universal detestation, he raised and maintained a guard, which attended him when he went to the senate; and gave out, that he intended to continue in his office the succeeding year. His enemies, alarmed by this report, sent for *Leonidas* from *Tegaea*, and re-established him on the throne, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were highly incensed at their being deprived of the hopes they had entertained of the division of the lands.

Agefilaus now escaped by the assistance of his son, who was universally beloved, while *Agis* took sanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*, and *Cleombrotus* in that of *Neptune*. *Leonidas*, seeming most exasperated against his son-in-law, went with a body of soldiers to the temple where he had taken refuge, and bitterly reproached him for assuming the regal power, and for expelling him from his country. *Cleombrotus* sat in profound silence, with a countenance that expressed his confusion, and near him stood *Chalonis* his wife, with

with her two children. She had been equally unfortunate, as a wife and a daughter, but equally faithful in each of those characters, and always adhered to the unhappy. She had accompanied her father *Leonidas* during his exile, and now returning to her husband, tenderly embraced him. All who were present were filled with admiration at her virtue and tenderness, and at the amiable force of conjugal love. Pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled locks, "Believe me, " O father, she cried, this dress, this dejection of countenance, and the grief into which I am fallen, are not the effects of my compassion for *Cleombrotus*, but the sad remains of the calamities thou sufferedst in thy flight from *Sparta*. On what, alas! shall I now resolve? While thou shalt reign and triumph over thine enemies, shall I live in the desolate state to which thou feest me now reduced? Or shall I array myself in robes of royalty, while I behold the husband, who in the flower of my youth I received from thine hand, on the point of perishing by thy dagger? Should he be unable to disarm thy resentment, and move thy soul to compassion, by the tears of his wife and children, permit me to tell thee, that his imprudence will be punished more severely than thou thyself hast intended, when he sees a wife so dear to him expiring at his feet: for thou must not think that I will survive him. What appearance shall I make a-

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“ mong the *Spartan* ladies, after my inability to inspire my husband with compassion for my father, and to soften my father into pity for my husband ? I shall appear a daughter and a wife always miserable, and always contemned by her nearest relations ! ” *Chalonis* then reclined her cheek on that of *Cleombrotus*, while, with eyes swimming in tears, she cast a languid look on those who were present.

Leonidas discoursed a few moments with his friends, then turning to *Cleombrotus*, ordered him to rise, and immediately quit *Sparta* ; but earnestly entreated his daughter, not to leave a parent who gave her such a proof of tenderness, as his sparing the life of her husband. However the moment *Cleombrotus* rose from his seat, she placed one of her children in his arms, and taking the other in her own, performed her devotions at the altar, and became a voluntary exile with her husband. Had not the heart of *Cleombrotus* been entirely depraved by ambition, he would have been sensible, that even banishment itself, with so virtuous a companion, was a felicity preferable to all the splendor of sovereignty.

Cleombrotus now displaced the *ephori*, and then used his utmost endeavours to ensnare *Agis*. He endeavoured to persuade him to quit the asylum to which he had retired, and reign in conjunction with himself ; assuring him, that the citizens would easily pardon the errors of a young man ambitious of glory.

But

But at length finding, that he could not prevail on *Agis* to leave his sanctuary, he no longer attempted to deceive him with plausible pretences.

Demochares, *Acresilaus* and *Amphares*, frequently visited the young prince, and sometimes conducted him to the baths, from whence they conveyed him back in safety to the temple. But *Amphares* having lately borrowed some rich tapestry, and a magnificent set of silver-plate of *Agis*'s mother, *Agis*, his avarice tempted him to betray the king and his whole family. One day on *Agis*'s return from the bath, these false friends walked with him conversing with much mirth and gaiety: but when they came to the corner of a street that led to the prison, *Amphares* seized him, crying, with an air of authority, “*Agis*, I must conduct thee to the ephori, to whom thou art to answer for thy behaviour.” At the same instant *Demochares*, who was a tall strong man, threw his mantle over his head, and dragged him along, while the others pushed him forward, and none of *Agis*'s real friends being near, they easily brought him into the prison.

Leonidas soon arrived with a great number of foreign soldiers, who strongly guarded the entrance; the ephori likewise came thither, with such of the senators as they knew to be true to their party. They began with examining *Agis*, as in a judicial process, with respect to his intended innovations. One of the ephori seeming as if he would help him

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to an excuse, asked him, whether *Agis* and *Lysander* had not compelled him to have recourse to those measures ? *Agis* answered, that he had not acted in consequence of any compulsion ; but that his admiration of *Lycurgus*, and the sincere desire of imitating him, were his only motives for attempting to restore the city to the same happy situation in which it had been left by that great legislator *. The same officer then demanding, Whether he did not now repent of that proceeding ? He bravely answered, That he never should repent of so noble and glorious a design ; though death itself were before his eyes in all its terrors. Upon this they condemned him to suffer death, and ordered the officers to carry him to that part of the prison where malefactors were usually strangled.

Democrats seeing that the officers of justice did not dare to lay their hands on *Agis*, and that even the foreign soldiers refused to assist at so inhuman an execution, loaded them with threats and reproaches, and then with his own hands dragged him into the dungeon. By this time the people being informed of the manner in which he had been seized, crowded to the gates of the prison, and the whole street was lighted with innumerable tapers : while the mother and grandmother of *Agis* ran from place to place, filling the

* See the Life of *Lycurgus*, with an abstract of his constitutions in Vol. I.

air with their cries, and exclaiming that the king ought to be heard by the people, and tried according to the usual forms of justice. But this, instead of preventing, hastened his death: his enemies fearing that if the tumult should increase, he would that very night be rescued.

When the executioners were leading him to the place where he was to be strangled, he observed one of the officers weeping; upon which, turning to him, he said, " My friend, weep not for me who die innocent. I am much happier and more to be envied than they, who, contrary to law and justice, put me to death." Then without the least appearance of reluctance, he offered his neck to the fatal cord.

Agis was no sooner dead than *Amphares* left the prison, when the first object that struck his sight was *Agisistrata* the mother of that unhappy prince, who threw herself at his feet; when raising her from the earth, he assured her, that *Agis* had nothing to fear; and, at the same time, as a proof of his sincerity, invited her into the prison to see her son. She entreated him to permit her aged mother to accompany her in the mournful visit. He told her, that her request was reasonable, and instantly conducted them into the prison, but the moment they had entered ordered the gate to be shut, and *Archimelia*, the grandmother of *Agis*, to be first introduced. She had lived to a venerable old age, with as much dignity and reputation as any lady

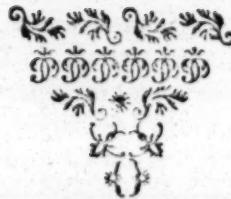
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of her time. Soon after the inhuman *Amphares* told *Agisistrata*, that she might now go in if she pleased. She accordingly entered, and the moment she came into the dismal place, beheld her son lying dead on the ground, and near him her mother dead, with the fatal cord twisted round her neck. She assisted the executioner in removing that instrument of destruction, and laying the body by that of her son, she decently covered it. Then throwing herself on the corpse of *Agis*, kissed his cold cheeks, and cried, "O my son! thy too great lenity, thy gentle sweetness and humanity, have destroyed both thee and us." *Amphares*, who from the door had heard and beheld all that passed, instantly entered, and with a tone and countenance of savage fury, said, "Since thou approvedst of thy son's actions, it is fit thou should share in his reward." At these words *Agisistrata* arose, and, running to the fatal cord, cried, "May all this redound to the good of *Sparta* *".

When the news of these executions was spread through the city, and the inhabitants beheld the bodies exposed to view, the indignation of the public was universal, and the fear of the magistrates could not hinder the people's expressing their detestation of it,

* These dreadful scenes happened at *Sparta*, in the 244th year before the birth of our Saviour.

and their hatred of *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, for so wicked and barbarous an action. *Agis* was the first king who had been put to death by the ephori. He died for having formed a design truly worthy of a *Spartan*. Indeed his friends had more reason to blame him than his enemies, since, through his extraordinary mildness and generosity, he saved *Leonidas*, and trusted those by whom he was betrayed.



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FTER the murder of *Agis*, *Archidamus*, his brother, fled; but *A Leonidas* secured *Agiatis* the widow of the unhappy king, with an infant she had by him, and then compelled her to marry *Cleomenes*, his son, though he was not then marriageable: but he was unwilling that any one else should have her, as she inherited a great estate from her father *Gylippus*, and also excelled all the Grecian ladies, both in beauty, wisdom and virtue. Being thus compelled to marry *Cleomenes*, she retained an aversion to *Leonidas*; but behaved with the utmost complacency to

her young spouse, who instantly conceived a sincere esteem and affection for her, and even sympathized with her in the tenderness and regard she preserved for the memory of *Agis*; whence he would frequently listen to her with the utmost attention, while she related the great designs he had formed.

Cleomenes had a generous and noble mind, joined with the same temperance and simplicity of manners that appeared in *Agis*; but he had not the same calmness and gentleness of disposition. He was also far from being satisfied with the state of affairs at *Sparta*: the people were sunk in idleness, and the king spent his time in ease and luxury: the public was neglected, and every individual was solely intent on his private gain. Now *Agis* was killed, it was dangerous even to mention the exercising and training of their youth, or restoring their ancient bravery.

On the death of *Leonidas*, *Cleomenes* succeeded to the throne *, and though he was very young, he was uneasy at having only the empty title of king, while the whole authority was engrossed by the ephori, who shamefully abused their power. This rendered him solicitous to change the form of government, and knowing that there were but few inclined to render him their as-

* In the 242d year before the christian æra. Thus *Leonidas* lived but two years after the execrable murders, by which he procured the sole possession of the throne of *Sparta*.

fistance, he consulted with none, but contrived the whole affair by himself. Imagining it would be easier to accomplish it during a war, he seized an opportunity, in which the Achæans had given the Spartans cause of complaint; for soon after the death of Leonidas, Aratus began to plunder the Arcadians, in order to make an experiment of the Spartan courage, and to shew that he despised Cleomenes as a youth without experience.

The ephori, having received intelligence of this act of hostility, sent Cleomenes to surprise the *Athenæum*, or temple of *Minerva*, near *Belbina*, which is at the enterance of *Laconia*. Cleomenes took and fortified it; on which Aratus, without shewing the least resentment, marched by night to surprise *Tegæa* and *Orchomenus*; but those, who were to betray the city into his hands, being seized with a panic, the design failed. Soon after, while Cleomenes was in *Arcadia*, with a few horse and 300 foot, the ephori, being afraid of engaging in the war, ordered him home; but, when he was returning, Aratus made himself master of *Caphuæ*; upon which they commanded him to take the field again. He took *Methydrium*, and laid waste the country of the *Argives*. The Achæans then sent *Aristomachus* against him with 1000 horse and 20,000 foot. Cleomenes came up with them near *Pallantium*, and offered them battle; but Aratus* was so intimidated by the

* See the Life of Aratus, in the last volume of this work.

bravery of this proceeding, that he prevailed on the general not to hazard an engagement, and then retreated, which drew upon him very severe reproaches from his own troops, and sharp taillery from the *Spartans*, whose numbers did not amount to above 5000. *Cleomenes*, encouraged by this success, began to assume a loftier air, and reminded the citizens of an expression used by one of their kings, *That the Lacedæmonians never inquired after the number of their enemies, but where they were*. He afterwards entirely defeated the *Achæans*; when *Aratus*, like an experienced general, immediately turned his arms against *Mantinea*, and, before the *Spartans* could have any suspicion of his design, took that city.

After *Cleomenes* had returned to *Sparta*, he had credit enough to cause *Archidamus*, the brother of *Agis*, to be recalled from *Messene*. As that prince was descended from the other royal house of *Sparta*, he had an undoubted right to the crown; for *Cleomenes* was persuaded, that the authority of the *ephori* would be much weakened when the throne of *Sparta* should be filled by its two kings, whose union would enable them to counterbalance their power. But unhappily those, who had been concerned in the death of *Agis*, murdered him as soon as he entered the city; and some have said, that the young king was forced to consent to it.

Soon after, *Cleomenes* gained another advantage over the *Achæans*, in an action near *Megalopolis*, in which *Lysiades* was slain, by

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engaging too far in the pursuit of the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been repulsed at the beginning of the action. The bodies of the slain, which were very numerous, *Cleomenes* delivered up on certain conditions, but that of *Lydiades* he adorned with a purple robe, and, putting a crown on its head, sent it to the gates of *Megalopolis*. Of that city *Lydiades* had been king; but resigning his crown, he had restored liberty to the citizens, and joined the city to the *Achæan* interest.

Cleomenes elated with his success, and thinking that if affairs were entirely at his own disposal, he should soon be too hard for the *Achæans*, communicated his design to a small number of select and faithful friends. He then regulated his march so, as to enter the city while the *ephori* were at supper; when a set of persons, chosen for that purpose, entered the hall with their drawn swords, and killed four of the *ephori*, with ten persons who took arms in their defence. *Agestlaus*, who had been left for dead on the spot, found means to save himself. Those, who remained quiet, did not receive the least harm, nor were any stopped who fled out of the city. The next day, *Cleomenes* banished eighty of the citizens, and removed from the hall of audience all the seats of the *ephori* except one, in which he himself designed to hear causes. Then summoning an assembly of the people, he gave his reasons for what he had done; represented in what an enormous manner the *ephori* had abused their power, by suppressing

suppressing all lawful authority, and not only banishing their kings; but causing them to be destroyed without the least form of law, and menacing all who were desirous of beholding *Sparta* happy in the most excellent form of government. Adding, that his conduct rendered it sufficiently evident, that he used his utmost endeavours to promote the interest of the citizens, and to revive the ancient discipline and equality of the wise *Lycurgus*, from which *Sparta* had derived all her glory and reputation.

Having thus expressed himself, he immediately consigned over his whole estate to the people; as did also *Megistones*, his father-in-law, who was very rich; the rest of his friends, with all the other citizens, followed their example, and the lands were impartially divided. He even assigned shares to those who had been banished, promising to recall them as soon as affairs should be perfectly settled. He next compleated the proper number of citizens, with persons of the best character in all the adjacent parts; after which he raised 4000 foot, whom he taught to use lances instead of javelins, and to wear shields with handles, and not with leather straps buckled on, as was before the custom. His next cares were devoted to the education of youth, in which he endeavoured to restore the *Spartan* discipline, wherein he was assisted by *Sphorus* the philosopher, and in a short time their schools of exercise, and public meals, recovered their ancient decency and

and order; most of the citizens voluntarily complying with this wise, noble, and regular method of life, while the rest submitted to it from necessity. In order also, that the name of monarch might give no jealousy to the people, he made *Euclidas*, his brother, partner in the throne; which was the first instance of the *Spartans* having two kings at one time of the same family.

Finding that the *Achaeans* imagined, that these changes placed him in a hazardous situation, and that he did not dare to quit *Sparta*, he thought nothing could be more honourable than to convince them of their mistakes, by shewing them how much he was esteemed by his troops, and beloved by the citizens; he therefore advanced into the territories of *Megalopolis*, where he ravaged the country, and obtained a considerable booty. At last, having seized on a company of comedians, as they were on the road from *Messene*, he built a stage in the enemy's country, and was himself a spectator of their performances for a whole day together. Not that he was fond of such entertainments, but this was done to convince them, how much he held them in contempt.

Though it was then not unusual to see bands of comedians, dancers and juglers in the train of other armies, his camp was perfectly free from them. The youths of his army spent most of their time in their exercises, and the old men in instructing them. Their relaxations consisted of instructive conversations

conversations, seasoned with a fine and delicate raillery. *Cleomenes* himself seemed the master, who thus formed the citizens, less by his discourse than his example, in leading a frugal life, which appeared in no respect superior to that of the meanest citizen; he was a striking model of temperance and wisdom, which greatly facilitated the execution of his designs. He appeared in his court in a plain habit; and gave every one, who had business with him, an agreeable reception, without treating any body with an air of austerity. His table was extremely simple and frugal: none was forced to drink more than he chose, and no music was ever introduced there. He constantly enlivened his repasts, either by proposing curious questions, or relating an agreeable and useful piece of history; seasoning the whole with wit and gaiety. He thought it no proof of the merit of princes to attach men to their interest by the attractions of wealth, or luxurious repasts; but the ability of gaining their hearts, by the charms of a conversation, in which freedom of thought and sincerity of manners always prevailed, he considered as a quality truly royal.

Thus the affable and engaging behaviour of this young prince, secured him the affection of his troops, and inspired them with such ardour in his service, as seemed to render them invincible. He took several places from the *Achæans*, laid waste the territories of their allies; and, in order to give them

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battle, advanced almost as far as *Pheræ*, while *Aratus* fled before him, abandoning all the flat country. At length the *Achæans* having encamped in the territories of *Dymæ*, *Cleomenes* followed, and perpetually harrassing them, obliged them to come to a battle, in which he obtained a compleat victory.

The *Achæans* being extremely dejected by their repeated losses, at length sent ambassadors to *Cleomenes* to negociate a peace. He at first seemed resolved to impose very severe terms; but afterwards only demanded their appointing him general of the *Achæan* league; on which condition he promised to restore the places and prisoners he had taken. The *Achæans*, willing to come to an agreement on these terms, invited *Cleomenes* to be present at a general assembly held at *Lerna*; but he being taken ill, the interview was prevented; and *Aratus* not only hindered their renewing the negociation, but had recourse to an expedient, which was extremely dishonourable in a man of his rank and character, and which no *Grecian* ought to have approved: he called *Antigonus* to his assistance, and the king of *Macedonia*, seized with pleasure the opportunity that was now offered him, of engaging in the affairs of *Greece*.

Some time after, the *Achæans* meeting at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* marched towards that city; but *Aratus* having already agreed with *Antigonus* on the chief articles of their league, and being apprehensive that *Cleomenes* would carry all before him, proposed that he should come

alone into the town, and that 300 hostages should be given for his safety ; but in case he did not approve of that proposal, he should advance with his troops to the place of exercise which stood without the city. *Cleomenes*, exasperated at this unreasonable jealousy, wrote to the *Achæans*, and in his letter accused *Aratus*. This was answered on the other hand by *Aratus*, who inveighed against him in an assembly of the people.

Cleomenes now renewing the war, invaded *Achæa*, where he took *Pellene* by surprize, and afterwards made himself master of *Pheneus* and *Penteleum*. The *Achæans* then entertaining a suspicion that some treacherous designs were carrying on at *Corinth* and *Sycion*, sent their horse and mercenaries out of *Argos* to those cities, while they repaired thither to celebrate the *Nemean* games. *Cleomenes* being informed of this, did not doubt, but upon his suddenly advancing to *Argos*, while they were busied in the solemn games, and the city was crowded with spectators, he should create a general consternation ; he therefore marched with his army by night up to the walls, and making himself master of the quarter called *Aspis*, which was well fortified, and of difficult access, the people were seized with such terror, that no body offered the least resistance ; but agreeing to accept of a garrison, entered into an alliance with the *Spartans*, and conferred the chief command on *Cleomenes*.

This action greatly encreased the reputation and power of *Cleomenes*. *Cleomenes* and *Phili-*

us immediately surrendered to him; and *Aratus*, who was then at *Corinth*, where he was searching after those who were suspected to favour the *Laccdæmonians*, was no sooner informed of these transactions, than he was extremely alarmed, and observing that the citizens were inclined to admit *Cleomenes*, he summoned an assembly of the people, and in the mean while stole out at the gate, where a horse was provided for him, and escaped to *Scyion*.

Cleomenes then marching from *Argos*, gained over the *Træzenians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Hermionians*, and advancing to *Corinth*, entered that city, and blocked up the citadel, which the *Achæans* refused to surrender. However, he sent for the friends of *Aratus*, committed his house to their care, and dispatched a messenger to him with a proposal that the citadel might be equally garrisoned by the *Spartans* and *Achæans*, promising on these conditions to double the pension *Aratus* received from king *Ptolemy*. But *Aratus* immediately sent his son among the other hostages to *Antigonus*, and prevailed on the *Achæans* to deliver the citadel into the hands of the *Macedonians*; on which *Cleomenes* invaded the territories of the *Sicyonians*, and seized on *Aratus's* estate.

In the mean time *Antigonus* passed Mount *Gerania* with a great army; on which *Cleomenes*, instead of attempting to defend the isthmus, thought it more adviseable to fortify

and garrison the passes of the *Onian* * mountains, and to harrass the enemy by frequent attacks, than to hazard a battle with such well disciplined and warlike troops; and by this step he reduced *Antigonus* to great extremities; for he had not provided a sufficient quantity of provisions for his army; nor was it practicable to force the passes defended by *Cleomenes*. This induced him to make an attempt by night to enter *Peloponnesus* by the haven of *Lechaeum*; but he was there also repulsed with loss.

While *Antigonus* was under this perplexity, some of *Aratus*'s friends came by sea, and arriving by night at his camp, informed him that the people of *Argos* had revolted against *Cleomenes*, and were then besieging the citadel. Upon this *Aratus*, with 1500 of *Antigonus*'s soldiers, sailed to *Epidaurus*. *Cleomenes* receiving intelligence of these proceedings at about nine or ten in the evening, instantly detached *Megistones* with two thousand men, to succour his party at *Argos*; while he staid to watch the motions of *Antigonus*: but *Megistones* being slain, as soon as he entered the town, the *Lacedæmonian* garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and sent several couriers to desire immediate assistance. *Cleomenes* then apprehending, that if the enemy should become masters of *Argos*, they

* These, according to *Strabo*, are a ridge of mountains that extend from the rocks of *Sciron*, as far as *Bœotia* and Mount *Citheron*.

would shut up all the passes against him, ravage *Laconia*, and perhaps lay siege to *Sparta*, which he had left without defence, raised his camp, and marched with his whole army from *Corinth*, on which *Antigonus* entered that city, and secured it with a garrison. *Cleomenes* in the mean time arrived at *Argos*, and, entering the town, joined the garrison, and forced some of the enemy's troops to save themselves by flight; but, seeing *Antigonus* with his phalanx descending from the mountains, and the horse entering the city, he collected his men, and retired.

As *Cleomenes* was leading back his troops, some couriers from *Sparta* met him in the evening at *Tegaea*, with news that affected him as much as all his former misfortunes. This was the death of his consort *Agiatis*, from whom he had never been able to absent himself a whole campaign, even when he was most successful: for so great were his tenderness and esteem for her, that he used frequently to return to *Sparta* only to enjoy the pleasure of her company. The next morning, at break of day, he renewed his march, and arrived early at *Sparta*, where having poured out his sorrows in his own house, to his mother and children, he resumed the management of public affairs.

Ptolemy, who had promised to assist him in the war, now sent to demand his mother and children as hostages. It was long before *Cleomenes* could acquaint his parent with the king of *Egypt*'s demand, and though he fre-

quently went to visit her on purpose to let her know it, he wanted the resolution to enter upon the subject. At length, *Cratesiclea*, his mother, perceiving his perplexity, began to suspect the cause; and enquired of his most intimate friends, whether her son did not desire something from her, which he could not prevail on himself to communicate to her? And, at last, when *Cleomenes* had the resolution to open the affair to her; "How, my son, said she smiling, was this the secret you wanted courage to disclose to me? "Why did you not instantly cause me to be put on board some vessel, and sent without delay to any part of the world, where my person may be useful to *Sparta*, before it is consumed by old age, in languor and inaction."

When the preparations for their voyage was completed, they went by land to *Tenarus*, where *Cratesiclea*, before she entered the vessel, took him aside into the temple of *Neptune*. She there held him for some time in her arms, bathing his face with her tears, and recommended to his care the liberty and honour of his country. When seeing him weep at this melancholy parting; "King of *Sparta*, said she, let us dry up our tears, that, on our leaving the temple, we may not be seen to have wept, or to do any thing unworthy of *Sparta*. For this is our power; events are in the hands of the gods." She then composed her countenance, led her infant grandson to the ship

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*CLEOMENES and his Mother in the
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and ordered the pilot instantly to sail from the port.

On her arrival in *Egypt*, she was informed, that *Ptolemy* listened to proposals of peace made him by *Antigonus*; and that *Cleomenes* was solicited by the *Achæans* to conclude a treaty between them and *Sparta*; but was for her sake afraid of putting an end to the war without the consent of *Ptolemy*. Upon which, she sent to desire him to perform, without the least fear or hesitation, whatever he imagined would be of advantage to *Sparta*, without being concerned at the treatment an old woman and a little child might receive from *Ptolemy* *.

In the mean time, *Antigonus* having taken *Tegæa*, and plundered *Orchomenus* and *Mantinea*, *Cleomenes* being shut up within the narrow bounds of *Laconia*, permitted all the *Helots*, who were able to pay five minæ † to purchase their freedom; and by that means raised 500 talents ‡, and armed 2000 of these *Helots* after the *Macedonian* manner. He then formed an enterprize, which no one could have expected from him. *Megalopolis* was, at that time, not inferior in power and extent

* The magnanimity and patriotic spirit of this lady are really astonishing. The reader may see several other instances of the heroism discovered by the *Spartan* women, in the Life of *Lycurgus*, Vol. I. of this work.

† About 10 l. sterling.

‡ About 125,000 l. sterling.

to *Sparta* itself. *Cleomenes* concerted measures for surprising that city, and, ordering his men to take provisions for five days, marched to *Sellasia*, as if he designed to ravage the country of the *Argives*; but suddenly turning, took the city in the night by surprise. Most of the inhabitants retired to *Messene* with their wives, before their enemies had any thoughts of pursuing them, so that very few of them were taken. Among these were *Lysandridas* and *Thearidas*, persons of great power and authority, who being brought to *Cleomenes*, *Lysandridas* no sooner saw him at a distance than he cried, “ Now, king of *Sparta*, thou hast it in thy power to render thyself the most illustrious of mankind, by an action more glorious than that thou hast now performed. Ruin not so great a city; but fill it with faithful friends and allies; and by restoring the *Megalopolitans* to their country, become the favourer of so considerable a people.” *Cleomenes* stood for some time in suspense, and then said, “ It is very hard to believe this; but with us, let profit always yield to glory.” He then sent an herald to *Messene* with the proposal of restoring the city, on condition that the *Megalopolitans* should renounce the *Achæan* league, and enter into a friendship and confederacy with *Sparta*: but advantageous as this offer seemed, they could not prevail on themselves to accept it; *Philopænæ* persuading them not to break their league with the *Achæans*, nor to put confidence in the promises of *Cleomenes*.

This

This refusal highly exasperated the king of *Sparta*, who had not only spared the city, but had prevented the soldiers from committing the least disorder: he therefore abandoned the place to pillage, sent all the statues and pictures to *Sparta*, and then, demolishing great part of the walls, marched home.

Cleomenes then formed an enterprize which was esteemed the effect of temerity and folly; yet, according to *Polybius*, was the result of the greatest prudence and sagacity. For knowing, that the *Macedonians* were dispersed in their winter-quarters, and that *Antigonus*, with his friends and a few mercenaries, was at *Argos*, he made an irruption into the country of the *Argives*, hoping, that if *Antigonus* should be so affected by the apprehensions of ignominy as to hazard a battle, he would be easily defeated; and, on the other hand, if he should decline fighting, he would lose his reputation with the *Achæans*. This accordingly happened; for, when *Cleomenes* ravaged the whole country, the *Argives* ran in crowds to the palace, and, in a clamorous manner, required him, either to give his enemies battle, or to resign the command of his troops to those who had more courage. But *Antigonus*, like a prudent commander, thought it less dishonour to hear himself reproached, than rashly to expose himself. *Cleomenes*, therefore, led his troops up to the walls of *Argos*, and, having without opposition, laid waste the country, marched back to *Sparta*.

Soon

Soon after being informed, that *Antigonus* was marching to *Tegaea*, he again appeared before *Argos*, to which city *Antigonus* had returned, and sent to the city for the keys of Juno's temple, that he might sacrifice to the goddess. Having thus insulted *Antigonus*, and sacrificed under the walls of the temple, which was kept shut, he marched to *Pelius*, and, driving out the garrison of *Oliguntum*, march-ed by *Orchomenus*, and by these enterprizes, not only raised the courage of his troops, but made even his enemies confess, that he was an excellent commander, and capable of the greatest undertakings.

But as wrestlers, strengthened by continual exercise, in time tire out those who have only skill and activity, so *Antigonus* being posse-sed of much wealth, which has been stiled the sinews of war, weaied out *Cleomenes*, who found it difficult to pay his mercenaries, or to furnish his citizens with provisions. In other respects the times favoured *Cleomenes*: *Antigonus*, being called home: for the bar-barians, taking advantage of his absence, rava ged *Macedonia*, which induced his subjects to sollicit his return, and had the messengers arrived ever so little before the battle of *Sel-lasia*, he would have left the *Achaeans* to them-selves. But fortune, who delights in decid-ing the greatest affairs, by some minute cir-cumstance, now shewed how much may de-pend on a single moment; for immediately after this battle was over, by which *Cleome-nes* lost both his army and his city, the mes-sengers

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sengers arrived. This rendered *Cleomenes* more worthy of pity ; for could he have forborne fighting two days longer, there would have been no need of hazarding a battle ; since, on the departure of the *Macedonians*, he might have made peace with the *Achæans* on his own terms. But his want of money put him under the necessity of engaging, according to *Polybius*, with 20,000 against 30,000.

Cleomenes, however, behaved like an excellent commander, and was supported by the zeal and bravery of his citizens, nor were the mercenaries wanting in their duty. His defeat was occasioned by the armour of the enemy being better than that of his troops, and by the weight and impetuosity of the *Macedonian* phalanx. But, according to *Polyarchus*, he chiefly owed his defeat to treachery. For *Antigonus* had ordered the *Illyrians* and *Acarpanians* to encompass the wing commanded by *Eucleidas*, the brother of *Cleomenes*. Whence the king of *Sparta*, on his taking a view of the enemy from an eminence, and, not perceiving those troops, sent for *Demoteles*, who commanded the party appointed to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to take particular care in observing the rear : but *Damoteles*, who is said to have been bribed by *Antigonus*, assured him, that he had no reason to be solicitous about the rear, and that he had nothing to do but to take care of the front. *Cleomenes*, thus eased of his suspicions, marched against *Antigonus*, and, charging

ing the *Macedonian* phalanx with great vigour, drove them about five furlongs back, when making a stand, and seeing the other wing, commanded by his brother, encompassed by the enemy, he cried, "Thou art lost, " dear brother; thou, brave example of our "Spartan" youth, and theme of our matrons "songs, art lost!" *Eucleidas*'s wing being thus cut to pieces, the *Illyrians* and *A-carnanians* fell on *Cleomenes*, who, observing that his soldiers were thrown into disorder, and unable to continue the fight, provided for his own safety. Most of the foreign troops are said to have fallen in that action, and that of 6000 *Lacedæmonians*, only 2000 escaped.

Cleomenes, upon his arrival at *Sparta*, advised his citizens to receive *Antigonus*; assuring them, that, as for himself, he would make choice of that, whether it was life or death, that should appear of the greatest advantage to his country. He then retired into his own house, but would neither drink, tho' very thirsty; nor sit down, though much fatigued. But loaded as he then was with the weight of his armour, he leaned against a column, with his head reclined on his arm, and deliberating with himself, for some time, on the course he ought to take, he suddenly quitted the house, and went with his friends to the port of *Gythium*, where he embarked, and sailed for *Egypt*. Having touched at *Ægialia*, whence he was about to depart for *Cyrene*, *Therycion*, one of his friends, represented to him, in a very lively manner, the melancholy

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melancholy consequences that might attend his having recourse to the assistance of *Ptolemy*, and the indignity it would be to a king of *Sparta*, to be obliged to crouch, in a servile manner, to a foreign prince ; then took occasion to exhort him to prevent this ignominy by a glorious death, and by that action to vindicate himself to those who sacrificed their lives in the fields of *Sellasia*, for the liberty of *Sparta*. To this *Cleomenes* answered, " Wretch that thou art, dost thou think by " running into the arms of death, that easy " and ready refuge, to pass for a man of " courage and magnanimity ? Better men " than we, have given way to their ene- " mies ; but he that sinks under labour or " affliction, and gives way either to the opi- " nions or reproaches of men, is overcome " by his own effeminacy and cowardice. " For a voluntary death ought not to be cho- " sen as a relief from action ; but as an ex- "emplary action itself ; and it is base either " to live or to die only for ourselves. It does " not become us to despair of our country ; " but when there are no hopes of that left, " it will be then time enough to have re- " course to death." *Therycion* made no re- "ply ; but he no sooner left the presence of *Cleomenes*, than he went towards the shore, and there stabbed himself.

Cleomenes had scarce set sail, when *Antigonus*, arriving at *Sparta*, took possession of that city. He treated the *Lacedæmonians* with great humanity, and, having sacrificed

to the gods, departed the third day after his arrival.

On the other hand, *Cleomenes*, setting sail from *Ægialia*, landed in *Libya*, and was conducted by the king's officers to *Alexandria*. On his being first brought to *Ptolemy*, no more than common civilities were paid him; but the king of *Egypt* no sooner found, that he was a man of an admirable understanding, and that he had a noble simplicity of manners; that he neither sunk under his misfortunes, nor did any thing unbecoming his birth and title, and that he was at the same time a faithful counsellor, who would not stoop to flattery and adulation, than he began to be concerned at his having suffered *Antigonus* to ruin him. He, therefore, not only gave him many instances of his esteem, but promised to furnish him with an army and ships to reinstate him on the throne. Besides, he allowed him an annual pension of 24 talents *, a small part of which supported him and his friends, while the remainder was applied to the relief of the *Grecians*, who retired into *Egypt*.

Ptolemy, however, died before he could accomplish his promise, and his succession being a voluptuous prince, addicted to women and wine, the affairs of *Cleomenes* were neglected. However, being afraid of his brother *Magas*, who had great interest among the soldiers, he took *Cleomenes* into his

* About 20,000 l. sterling.

cabinet council, and informed him of the design of taking away his brother's life. But, tho' all the rest were for the perpetration of this murder, *Cleomenes* warmly opposed it, and observed, *That the king, if it were possible, should have more brothers, for the better security and management of his affairs.* But, at length, the timorousness and jealousy of the king and his courtiers rendered *Cleomenes* suspected. He now no longer solicited for an army and a navy; but hearing that *Antigonus* was dead, and that the *Achæans* were engaged in a war with the *Ætolians*, he desired leave to depart with his friends; but even this was refused him, and some time after he was confined to a large apartment, and both he and his friends had reason to suspect, that they should soon be sacrificed to appease the jealousy of this weak, luxurious and pusillanimous monarch. They, therefore, laying aside all hopes, resolved first to be revenged on *Ptolemy**, for his unjust and insolent treatment of them, and then to die as became *Spartans*, and not to stay till they were butchered like fatted victims.

This resolution being taken, they seized the opportunity of *Ptolemy*'s going to *Canopus*, and first spread a report, that the king had resolved to set them at liberty, and it being customary, on such occasions, for princes to send a supper, and some presents to him

* This was *Ptolemy Philopater*, who succeeded *Ptolemy Evergetes* his father.

they intended to enlarge, *Cleomenes*'s friends sent him an entertainment and presents, pretending they came from *Ptolemy*. On which *Cleomenes*, adorning his head with a chaplet of flowers, sacrificed to the gods, and, sending part of the sacrifice to his keepers, feasted his friends at his own table.

The next day about noon, while the guards, who had drank plentifully the night before, were fast asleep, *Cleomenes* and his friends, 13 in all, issued forth with their drawn swords in their hands. One of them, named *Hippotas*, though infirm and lame, at first followed them very well, but afterwards perceiving, that they slackened their pace for him, he desired them to kill him, and not ruin the enterprize by staying for an useless man. But they, meeting an *Alexandrian* leading a horse, placed *Hippotas* upon it, and proceeded through the streets exhorting the people to espouse the cause of liberty; but not a man joined them, though the people freely commended the undertaking, and expressed their admiration at *Cleomenes*'s undaunted resolution. They killed the governor of the city and some others; then advanced towards the citadel, in order to break open the prison, and take the prisoners to their assistance; but the keepers had secured the passages. *Cleomenes*, baffled in this attempt, roamed with his friends about the city, during which not a soul either followed or opposed them; but all, being seized with fear, fled. *Cleomenes*, now lost to all hope, exhorted his friends to die in a man-

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ner becoming the dignity of their former actions. *Hippotas*, at his own request, was first dispatched by one of the youngest in the company, and then every man fell resolutely on his own sword, except *Panteus*, who was in the flower of his age, of a graceful figure, and more exactly trained in the *Spartan* discipline than any of his companions, on which account the king had a particular value for him, and had commanded him to wait till they were all dead, and then to kill himself. When the rest had fallen on their swords, and lay extended on the ground, *Panteus* pricked them one by one with the point of his sword, to try if any life remained, and finding, on his pricking *Cleomenes* in the foot, that it raised a contortion in his face, he embraced him, seated himself by his side, and, at length, perceiving, that he was expired, slew himself on his body.

Thus died *Cleomenes*, after he had been king of *Sparta* 16 years *. At this heavy stroke *Cratesiclea* seemed unable to support the weight of her affliction, and, embracing the children of *Cleomenes*, abandoned herself to grief. The eldest of these children, getting

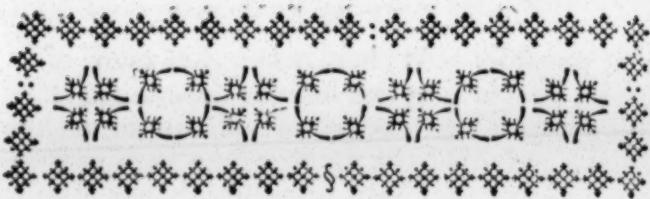
* The *Lacedæmonians* had such a high esteem and veneration for *Cleomenes*, that though he was three years at the court of *Egypt*, yet hoping he would at last return, they had no thoughts of nominating kings till they heard of his death.

unsuspected to the top of the house, threw himself down.

Pompey no sooner heard of this adventure, than he ordered the body of *Cleomenes* to be hung up, enclosed within a hide, and that his mother and children, with their female attendants, should be put to death. Among these was the wife of *Panteus*, a lady of exquisite beauty. They had been just married before they were involved in these calamities; and when *Panteus* went with *Cleomenes*, her parents kept her closely confined to prevent her accompanying him; but, a few days after, she escaped to *Tænarus*, where she embarked, and got safe to her husband in *Egypt*, and there cheerfully shared in all the hardships he suffered. When the soldiers conducted *Cratesiclea* to the place of execution, she supported her, and exhorted her to exert all her courage and resolution. That princess, indeed, did not stand in need of her exhortations; for she behaved with the greatest intrepidity, and only desired to die before her grand children; but that request was denied her, and the executioners murdered them before her eyes; when uttering no other complaint but, “O my children! whither are you gone?” She herself was put to death. The wife of *Panteus* girt her robe about her, and, with the utmost sedateness and silence, took care of her companions, as they were executed one after the other, shrouding their bodies in linen she had brought with her for that

that purpose. At last, when her own turn came, forbidding any besides the executioner to approach her, she permitted him to do his office, and died the death of an heroine; so careful had she been in adjusting her dress, and maintaining in death the modesty she had inviolably preserved while living, that none was wanted to perform the last office for her, by wrapping up her breathless body.





THE
L I F E
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TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

WE shall now take a view of two Romans, as remarkable for their misfortunes as the former, and compare the lives of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* with those of *Tiberius* and *Caius*. These were the sons of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who, notwithstanding his being once censor, twice consul, and his having two triumphs, was more esteemed for his virtue than his honours.

There was a great similitude between these youths, in their liberality, fortitude, and magnanimity; and yet, in their actions, there appeared an extraordinary dissimilarity. Before we proceed, we shall describe the difference

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ference between them. The countenance and gestures of *Tiberius* were mild and composed, but those of *Caius* earnest and vehement: thus, in their public speeches, the one used little action, but the other would walk about the rostrum, and in the heat of his orations, pull his gown off his shoulders, and he was the first *Roman* that made use of such gestures. The oratory of *Caius* was so impetuous and vehement, that it filled the auditory with terror; but that of *Tiberius* was mild, and adapted to excite compassion. In their tempers *Tiberius* was calm and sedate, but *Caius* rough and passionate; so that in his orations, he sometimes vented the most reproachful expressions with such eagerness and rage, as almost choaked his utterance. To remedy this excess, he made use of *Licinius* his servant, who constantly standing behind him with a pipe, whenever he perceived his master's tone grow harsh with anger, sounded a soft note on his pipe, which *Caius* no sooner heard than he checked his passion, and moderated the vehemence of his voice.

Tiberius being nine years older than his brother, engaged in public affairs before him, which prevented their uniting their interests. While young, he was so celebrated and esteemed, that he was early admitted into the college of the augurs. He served in *Africa* under the younger *Scipio*, who had married his sister, and in a short time excelled all the young men of the army, both in regularity of behaviour and in courage, so that at

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the siege of one of the enemies towns he was the first who mounted the wall. Hence he was universally beloved while in the army, and his loss was sincerely regretted when he returned home.

Soon after being chosen quæstor, he served in the war against the *Numantines* under *Caius Mancinus* the consul, the most unfortunate of all the *Roman* generals, who having been defeated in several battles, endeavoured to decamp by night, which being perceived by the *Numantines*, they seized the camp, and pursuing the *Romans*, not only slew all who were in the rear, but forced the army into such difficult places, that they had no possibility of escape. In this extremity, *Mancinus* sent to desire a truce, but they refused to enter into a treaty with any one except *Tiberius*; which not only proceeded from their regard to him on account of his courage, but from their esteem for his father, who in his expedition against the *Spaniards*, subdued several other nations, but granted the *Numantines* a peace, and afterwards prevailed on the *Romans* to observe it with the greatest punctuality.

Tiberius being dispatched to the enemy, persuaded them to agree to several conditions, and he himself complied with others, by which means he preserved 20,000 *Romans*, besides the slaves and others who followed the army. The *Numantines*, when they plundered the camp, having seized his books of accounts, on which he set an extraordinary value,

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lue, he some time after went to *Numantia*, accompanied only by three or four of his intimate friends, and applying to the principal officers of the *Numantines*, entreated them to return his books, lest his enemies should reproach him with being unable to give an account of the money he had received and disbursed. The *Numantines* not only joyfully embraced this opportunity of obliging him, but kindly invited him into the city; and taking him by the hand, begged that he would never more consider them as his enemies, but employ them as his friends, with full confidence of their inviolable fidelity. *Tiberius*, on entering the city, was invited to a public entertainment; and afterwards, when they returned his books, they gave him the liberty of taking any of the spoils he chose; he only however accepted of some frankincense, which he used in his public sacrifices, and embracing them departed.

On his return to *Rome*, he found that his treaty with the *Numantines* was censured as disgraceful to the *Romans*; but the relations and friends of the soldiers came flocking to him, and calling him the preserver of such a number of citizens, imputed all their miscarriages to the general; whom the people afterwards condemned to be sent naked and bound to the *Numantines*; but granted a general pardon to all the other officers for the sake of *Tiberius*.

It had been customary with the *Romans*, on their obtaining conquests from their neighbours,

bours, to sell part of the land by auction, and to assign the remainder to the poor and indigent citizens, for which they were to pay only a small acknowledgment into the public treasury: but afterwards, men of wealth beginning to raise the rents, and to turn the poor out of their possessions, it was enacted, that none should possess more land than 500 acres. This for some time restrained the avarice of the rich; but at length they contrived to obtain these lands under fictitious names. The poor being thus deprived of their farms, became backward to enlist in the army, and even took no care of the education of their children, so that, in a short time, there were few freemen in *Italy*; but the country swarmed with slaves, whom the rich, who had dispossessed the citizens, employed in cultivating their land.

Tiberius being elected tribune of the people, resolved to rectify this abuse; for on his going through *Tuscany* to *Numantia*, finding the country almost depopulated, there being scarcely any husbandmen or shepherds, except Barbarians and slaves, he took into serious consideration the prosecution of this affair, which in the end proved fatal to his family. He however did not make this decree without the advice and assistance of such of the citizens as were most distinguished by their virtue and authority; and, indeed, never was any law more moderate and gentle; for they who ought to have been severely punished for their thus transgressing the former

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laws, were to receive a gratuity for quitting their unjust claims, and restoring the lands to those who stood most in need of them: notwithstanding which the rich were highly exasperated, and endeavoured to persuade the people that *Tiberius* proposed a division of the land, with the sole design of disturbing the government. *Tiberius*, however, resolutely resolved to maintain so just a cause, and having mounted the Rostrum, addressed the people to this effect: “The savage beasts in “*Italy*, said he, have their particular dens, “their places of repose and refuge; but, the “men who have borne arms, and exposed “their lives for the safety of their country, “enjoy nothing in it but the fresh air and “the sun-shine; and having no houses or “settlements of their own, are obliged to “wander from place to place with their wives “and children. Their commanders deceive “them, when at the head of their armies, “they exhort the common soldiers to fight “for their sepulchres and altars; for not one “*Roman* amongst them has any paternal altar “or monument of his ancestors to defend: “they fight and die only to defend the “luxury and wealth of other men; and while “they are stiled the sovereigns of the world, “have not one foot of ground that they can “call their own.”

This speech, pronounced with great vehemence and earnestness, filled the people with such indignation and fury, that none of his adversaries dared at that time to make the

least opposition; but applying to *Marcus Octavius*, another of the tribunes, the, with great difficulty prevailed on him to hinder the passing of the law. *Tiberius*, exasperated at these proceedings, formed a fresh decree more severe than the former, commanding them immediately to surrender all such lands, as they, by the violation of former laws, had got into their possession. Hence there arose daily contentions between him and *Octavius*; and the latter having detained a great quantity of land from the commonalty, *Tiberius*, though he was not very rich, offered to pay him the value of it, on condition of his desisting from his opposition. When *Octavius* refusing to comply with this proposal, he published an edict, forbidding all magistrates to exercise their respective functions, till the law was either confirmed or rejected by the people, and also sealed up the gates of the temple of *Saturn*, in which was kept the public treasure.

The day appointed being come, when the people were summoned to give their votes, the rich men carried off the balloting boxes, and every thing was thrown into confusion: but when both parties were drawn up to oppose each other, *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, who were persons of consular dignity, threw themselves at the feet of *Tiberius*, took him by the hand, and with tears entreated him to desist. *Tiberius* desired them to give him their advice; but they acknowledged themselves unfit to advise in an affair of such consequence,

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and begged him to leave it to the determination of the senate. He granted this request; but at length, finding that the senate could not bring the affair to a period, he publicly addressed himself to *Octavius*, and taking him by the hand, besought him, in the most obliging manner, to gratify the people in so just and reasonable a request: but not being able to prevail on him, he publicly declared, that the only way he could think of to prevent a civil war, was to depose one of them; he therefore desired *Octavius* to summon the people to give their votes first concerning him, as he would willingly relinquish his authority, if the citizens desired it: but *Octavius* continuing refractory, *Tiberius* plainly told him, that the people should give their votes in relation to him, if, upon mature deliberation, he did not change his mind; and then adjourned the assembly till the next day.

The people being met, *Tiberius* again strove to persuade *Octavius*, but to no purpose; he therefore ordered the people to vote whether he should be deposed or not; but when there wanted only the votes of one tribe to deprive him of his office, *Tiberius* put a stop to the proceedings, and embracing him before all the assembly, earnestly begged him not to expose himself to such ignominy. *Octavius* seemed moved by his entreaties, and with eyes full of tears, continued for a long time silent; but at last, looking at the rich men who were assembled in a body, he through

shame and the fear of incurring their displeasure, bid *Tiberius* do as he pleased. The law for deposing him being passed, *Tiberius* ordered one of his freedmen, whom he employed as a lictor, to pull *Octavius* down from the Rostrum. This being done, he was immediately assaulted by the populace; but the rich running to his assistance, he, with great difficulty, escaped: for though *Tiberius* immediately ran to appease the rioters, one of his servants had both his eyes struck out.

The law was now ratified, and three commissioners appointed to make surveys, and to see the lands equally divided, one of whom was *Tiberius* himself, whom the rich took every opportunity to affront, particularly *Publius Nasica*, who, having a great estate in these public lands, did not scruple to own how much he hated him. The ill treatment *Tiberius* received, increased the rage of the people; and, to add to their indignation, he put himself into mourning, brought out his children, and entreated the people to provide for them and their mother, as he now despaired of his own safety.

King *Attalus*, surnamed *Philometer* *, dying about this time, *Eudemus*, a *Pergamenian*, brought to *Rome* his last will, by which he made the *Roman* people his heirs. On which *Tiberius* immediately proposed a law, that all the ready money left by *Attalus* should be distri-

* He was the son of *Eumenes*, and the last king of *Pergamus*.

buted among the poor citizens, who were to be sharers in the public lands, the better to enable them to proceed in the cultivation of them; and as for the cities in the territories that had belonged to *Attalus*, he declared, that the disposal of them did not belong to the senate, but to the people, and that he would ask their pleasure in relation to them. He, by this means, exasperated the senate more than ever. Afterwards perceiving, that the populace, as well as the nobility, began to be disgusted at his treatment of *Octavius*, because the dignity of the tribunes, which had always been esteemed sacred, seemed to be violated, he made a speech to the people, in which he observed, that a tribune of the people is indeed sacred and inviolable, on account of his being sacred to them, as their guardian and protector; but if he degenerates so far as to oppress the people, to retrench their privileges, and to deprive them of the liberty of voting, he then degrades himself from his office, by his acting in opposition to that duty, for the sake of which the honour was bestowed upon him.

His friends, at length, being apprehensive of the dangers that seemed to threaten him, were of opinion, that the safest way would be to petition to be continued tribune for the following year. Which he had no sooner obtained than he endeavoured to oblige the people, by shortening the time of their serving in the wars; by granting the liberty of appeals from the magistrates to the people, and by causing the bench of judges, which till

then consisted of only senators, to be composed of an equal number of senators and knights. But when it came to be debated, whether these laws should be ratified, he soon became sensible, that as the people were not yet assembled, his adversaries had the most votes. Therefore, in order to protract the time, he disputed and wrangled with his colleagues; and, at length, adjourned the assembly till the next day. Then descending into the Forum, he, with tears in his eyes, addressed the people, telling them, he was afraid his adversaries would, in the night, attempt to break into his house, and murder him; and this had such an effect, that several erected tents round his house, and kept guard all night for the security of his person.

The next morning there happened what was esteemed several unlucky omens; in particular, he had not gone far before he observed two ravens fighting on the top of a house: and, though he was surrounded by a vast multitude, a stone beat down by the ravens fell at his foot. This put a stop to all his attendants: however, one *Blofus* of Cumæ told him, that it would be a shame for *Tiberius*, the son of *Gracchus*, the grandson of *Scipio Africanus*, and the protector of the Roman people, to refuse to promote the interest of his countrymen, because he was frightened by a raven. But, at the same instant, several messengers coming from *Tiberius*'s friends in the capitol, desired him to hasten thither, every thing being ready according to his wish; and he no sooner appeared there, than

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he was welcomed, with loud acclamations and repeated expressions of joy, and care was taken that none should come near him, except his intimate friends. But though *Muttius* began again to put the affair to the vote, nothing could be done in the usual form, on account of the disturbance made by the populace by their pressing to enter the Capitol.

In the mean while, *Fulvius Flaccus*, standing on a conspicuous place, at too great a distance to be heard amidst so much noise, made signs to *Tiberius*, that he had something to communicate to him in private; on which *Tiberius* ordered the multitude to make way for him, by which means *Flaccus*, with some difficulty, getting up to him, let him know, that the rich men in the senate, being unable to prevail on the consul to join with them in their design, had resolved to assassinate him, and had armed a great number of their friends and servants for that purpose. *Tiberius* no sooner told this to those about him, than they immediately tucked up their gowns, and broke the halberts, with which the lictors used to keep off the crowd, in order to use the pieces in opposing all who should come to assault them. Those, who stood at a distance, were filled with surprise, and asked the reason of this disorder; when *Tiberius*, being sensible that they were at too great a distance to hear him, intimated his danger by lifting his hand to his head. Upon which his enemies, running to the senate-house, declared, that *Tiberius* desired the people to be-
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stow a crown upon him, and to make him king of *Rome*. This occasioned a great commotion in the senate, and *Nasica* called out to the consul to destroy the tyrant; but he mildly answered, that he would not begin to use violence; nor would he put any citizen to death contrary to law. *Nasica*, then starting up, cried, "Since the consul does not regard the safety of the commonwealth, let all who are willing to defend the laws, follow me." Then wrapping up his left arm in the skirt of his gown, he halted towards the capitol: those, who bore him company, also forced their way through the crowd. On account of their dignity none dared to obstruct their passage; but, in their haste to avoid them, tumbled upon one another. Some had before furnished themselves with clubs at their own houses, and others seized the feet of the stools and chairs that were broken by the people, and thus armed rushed up towards *Tiberius*, knocking down all who stood in their way, so that the people were soon dispersed, and many of them slain.

Tiberius then endeavoured to escape by flight. In running one caught him by the gown; but, leaving it behind him, he fled in his under garment: he, however, soon fell over the bodies of those who had been before knocked down, when, endeavouring to recover himself, he received a blow on the head with the foot of a stool, which was soon followed by others; and, in this tumult, above 300 men were killed with only clubs and stones; no military weapons being used.

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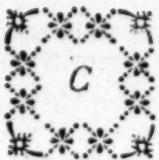
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This was the first sedition among the *Romans* since the abolition of kingly government, that ended in blood. The conquerors would not suffer the brother of *Tiberius*, tho' he earnestly desired it, to bury his corpse in the night; but threw that and the other bodies into the river. Their cruelty did not even stop here, they slew as many of *Tiberius*'s friends as they could find, and murdered one *Caius Villius*, by shutting him up in a large tun with serpents and vipers; and others of *Tiberius*'s friends they banished without any legal process.

After these transactions, the senate endeavoured to mollify the people by not opposing the division of the public lands. They were, however, much concerned for the loss of *Tiberius*, and only wanted a convenient opportunity to be revenged. They did not conceal their indignation against *Nasica*, even in the open streets, but whenever they met him, upbraided him with being a murderer and a tyrant, and with having polluted the most venerable of their temples with the blood of a magistrate, whose person was sacred and inviolable. The senate, therefore, fearing lest some mischief should befall him, sent him ambassador into *Asia*, though it was his duty, as being the chief priest, to officiate in the sacrifices. Thus wandering full of discontent, he died soon after near *Pergamus*.



THE
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CAIUS GRACCUS.

 *CAIUS GRACCUS*, after the death of his brother *, absented himself from the Forum, and lived retired within his own house; but gradually discovered, that he was naturally averse to indolence, effeminacy and avarice. He studied eloquence, as the most effectual means to raise himself to power, and at length *Vettius*, one of his friends, being under prosecution, undertook

* *Caius* was then about twenty-one years of age; and *Tiberius* was scarcely thirty, at the time of his being murdered.

to defend his cause: on which occasion, the people were transport d with joy at seeing him at the bar, and at hearing him master of such eloquence, that, in comparison with him, the other orators talked like children. This raised the apprehensions of those in authority, who were continually consulting how to prevent his being raised to the rank of tribune; and soon after, he being elected quæstor, his enemies were pleased at his being obliged to attend *Orestes* the consul* into *Sardinia*.

On his arrival in that island, he soon shewed, that he not only excelled all the other young men in justice and valour, but that, with respect to the virtues of temperance, frugality and industry, he surpassed those who were much older than himself. There happening to be that year a severe and sickly winter in *Sardinia*, the general sent orders to the several towns to supply the soldiers with necessary cloaths: but they, sending to *Rome*, desired to be excused; on which the senate ordered the general to think of some other way of new cloathing the army. The soldiers being thus reduced to great extremities, *Caius* went from city to city, and prevailed on them to cloathe the army of their own accord. This humane and generous behaviour, how-

* This was *Lucius Aurelius Orestes*, who was consul in the 627th year of *Rome*, 127 years before the christian æra, and six years after the death of *Tiberius*.

ever,

ever, raised new jealousies among the senators; which were encreased by the ambassadors of king *Micipsa* coming to acquaint the senate, that their master, from his esteem for *Caius Gracchus*, had sent a great quantity of corn to the general in *Sardinia*, at which they were so offended, that they turned the ambassadors out of the senate-house, and ordered the common soldiers to be recalled, and others sent in their room: not doubting but *Caius* would stay with the general. He, however, returned with the soldiers, for which he was afterwards tried; but, vindicating himself, he came off with honour. Afterwards other accusations were brought against him; but he clearly answered them all, and shewed, that he was entirely innocent of the crimes laid to his charge.

Caius then put up for the office of tribune, when, though he was universally opposed by all persons of quality, such infinite numbers of people came to vote for him, from all parts of *Italy*, that the *Campus Martius*, being not large enough to contain the assembly, several gave their votes for him from the roofs and battlements of houses. He was therefore elected: after which he used, on all occasions, to remind the people of the circumstances that attended his brother's murder, and quoted the example of their ancestors, who declared war against the *Falisci*, only for giving scurrilous language to a tribune of the people, and sentenced *Caius Velturius* to suffer death, for refusing to give place to a tribune as he was

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passing through the Forum. "But these persons, said he, in the presence of you all, "murdered *Tiberius* with clubs, and then "dragged the body from the capitol thro' "the city, to be cast into the *Tiber*. Even "as many of his friends as could be taken "were immediately put to death, without "trial, notwithstanding the just and ancient "custom, constantly observed by our forefa- "thers, that whenever a person was accused "of a capital crime, and did not appear, "an officer was sent in the morning to "his house, to summon him, by sound of "trumpet, and, before this was done, the "judges would never pass sentence. Thus "tender were our ancestors in cases of life "and death."

Caius then proposed, that whoever was turned out of any public office by the people, should ever after be incapable of bearing any; and, that if any magistrate should condemn a *Roman* to be banished, without a legal trial, it should come under the cognizance of the people. The first of these laws was levelled at *Marcus Octavius*, whom *Tiberius* had caused to be degraded from the tribuneship, and the other against *Popilius*, who during his prætorship had banished all the friends of *Tiberius*; upon this *Popilius*, being unwilling to stand a trial, fled out of *Italy*: but as to the former law it was dropped by *Caius* himself, who, by the desire of *Cornelia*, his mother, declared his readiness to oblige *Octavius*.

He afterwards proposed other laws calculated to raise the authority of the people, and to diminish that of the senate: one relating to the division of the public lands: another for cloathing the common soldiers at the public expence, without any abatement of their pay; and that none should be forced to serve in the army under seventeen years of age: another for lessening the price of corn to the poor; and another for joining three hundred *Roman* knights to the senators who consisted of the same number, and investing the judicial authority in the six hundred. He exerted himself with uncommon zeal in causing this last decree to be ratified; which being done, he obtained the power of chusing out of the knights those he thought fit to be judges; which gave him such authority, that the senate consulted him in difficult affairs; and, on these occasions, he advised nothing that could derogate from the honour of that body. He also proposed laws, for settling colonies, building public granarie, and repairing the highways, which he took care to render both convenient and pleasant, causing them to be drawn in a strait line, to be divided into miles, and stone pillars to be erected to mark those divisions.

On these accounts, he was highly extolled by the people, who, on all occasions, expressed their affection to him. One day, in a speech he made to the people, he declared, that he had only one favour to desire of them; which, if granted, he should esteem

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the highest obligation; but, if it were denied, he would not complain. Every one believed, that he was ambitious of being consul; and it was generally thought he would desire to be both consul and tribune at the same time. When the day for the election of consuls came, all waited with the utmost solicitude for the event: but he appearing in the *Campus Martius*, with *Caius Fannius*, made interest for him, and he was immediately declared consul. *Caius Gracchus* was also elected a second time tribune, without his petitioning for it, and merely from the affection of the people.

Finding that the senators were still his declared enemies, and that *Fannius* himself was not his sincere friend, he began again to flatter the people with new laws; on which the senate, being apprehensive that his power would at last become dangerous, took a new and unusual course, in order to alienate the affections of the people from him. They applied to *Livius Drusus*, who was fellow tribune with *Caius*, a person inferior to none in the advantages he derived from nature and education, and engaged him to counteract *Caius*, by gratifying the people in such things, as it would have been more laudable to have refused them. Thus they shewed, that they were less displeased with *Caius*'s conduct, than actuated by personal hatred, and a resolution to take every method to crush and destroy him. On *Caius*'s proposing to plant only two colonies with the most deserving

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citizens, they had accused him of servilely courting the favour of the people; but now assisted *Druſus*, when he proposed to send twelve colonies, consisting of the meanest persons that could be found. When *Caius* divided some of the public lands among the poor citizens, for which a small rent was to be annually paid into the treasury, they charged him with fawning upon the people; yet commended *Druſus*, though he exempted them from paying any rent at all. Besides, *Druſus* told the people, in all his speeches, that he proposed only such laws as were agreeable to the senate, who had a particular regard to the advantage of the people: by which means he gave them more favourable sentiments of that body.

At length *Rubrius*, another of the tribunes of the people, having proposed the rebuilding of *Carthage*, it fell to *Caius*'s lot to see it performed; and he accordingly failed to *Africa*. During his absence, *Druſus* insinuated himself still more into the affections of the people, and accused *Fulvius*, one of *Caius*'s friends, but a very turbulent man, with being guilty of several crimes: but the people put a stop to the prosecution. Meanwhile, *Caius* regulated and settled every thing relating to the building of the new city, which he named *Junonia*, and then made all possible haste to return to *Rome*.

Caius, after his arrival, proposed some new laws, and, in order to have them ratified by the votes of the people, convened a prodigious

gious multitude from the adjacent parts: but when *Fannius* the consul, at the desire of the senate, published a new and unusual proclamation, forbidding any of the allies, or confederates, to appear at *Rome* during that time; *Caius* published an edict to assure the confederates, that if they would stay, they might rely on his protection: but yet, though one of his intimate friends and companions was dragged to prison by *Fannius*'s officers, he passed by without assisting him, either because he was afraid to shew that his power was decreased, or from his being unwilling, as he himself said, to gratify his enemies, by giving them an opportunity of raising an insurrection.

About the same time, a combat of gladiators being to be exhibited in the Forum, most of the magistrates erected scaffolds round it, with the design of letting them for money: but *Caius* ordered them to be taken down, that the poor might see without expence; and no body obeying his orders, he employed a number of workmen the very night before the spectacle was to be exhibited, and the next morning the Forum was left quite clear. For this action he was esteemed by the people as a man of generosity and resolution; but his colleagues were so offended, that he failed of being elected tribune, which is said to have been owing not to his having fewer votes, but to their making false returns.

Opimius was no sooner elected consul than the enemies of *Caius* caused several of his laws to be cancelled, and an enquiry to be made into his transactions at *Carthage*, and nothing capable of enraging him was omitted, from the hopes that his passion would prompt him to do something that would give them a plausible pretence for putting him to death. At first *Caius* bore this treatment with great patience; but afterwards being prompted by his friends, and particularly by *Fulvius*, he resolved to raise a party to oppose the consul. On the day when the laws of *Caius* were to be abrogated, both parties met very early at the capitol. When the consul had sacrificed, *Quintus Antyllius*, a lictor, who was carrying out the entrails of the beast, cried to *Fulvius* and his friends, who stood about him, “Ye factious citizens make way for honest men;” upon which they immediately slew him with their styles or bokkins. This murder filled the whole assembly with consternation: *Caius*, however, severely reprimanded those of his own party who had been guilty of it, for giving his adversaries such an advantage against them; while *Opimius* seized with pleasure this opportunity of exciting the people to revenge; but a sudden shower of rain put a stop to every thing.

Early the next morning, while *Opimius* was dispatching affairs in the senate-house, the corpse of *Antyllius* lying naked on a bier, was brought through the Forum into the senate-house,

house, with loud outcries and lamentations; when that consul pretending to wonder at the cause, the senators went out as if to enquire the occasion of it; and standing round the corpse, lamented over it, and exclaimed at the inhumanity of the action. But this scene only served to fill the people with detestation of the nobility, who, without remorse, had assassinated *Tiberius Gracchus*, a tribune of the people, and thrown his corpse into the river; and yet, when the body of such an hireling as *Antyllus*, a common lictor, who had brought his misfortune upon himself, lay exposed to view, they encompassed the bier, and paid him uncommon honours, in order to destroy the only person who was zealous for the welfare of the people.

After some time, the senators returning to the senate-house, instantly passed a decree, by which *Opimius* the consul was enjoined to make use of all his power for the preservation of the commonwealth. The consul then ordered the senators to arm themselves, and the *Roman* knights to be ready early the next morning, each person attended by two servants well armed. On the other hand, *Fulvius* assembled the rabble, and prepared to oppose them. *Caius* returning from the *Forum*, stopped before his father's statue, and standing silent for a considerable time, with his eyes fixed upon it, sighed, shed tears, and then departed: on which those who beheld him, began to upbraid themselves for deserting

ing a man of such worth, and going to his house, remained there all night as his guard; regularly relieving each other; while those who guarded *Fulvius* spent their time in drinking and shouting, he himself setting the example.

The light no sooner began to appear, than *Fulvius* was with difficulty waked by his party, who armed themselves with some weapons formerly taken from the *Gauls*, that hung up in his house, and marched with loud cries to take possession of the *Aventine* mount. But *Caius* went out in his gown, as if he had been going to an assembly of the people, only he concealed under it a short dagger. His wife running to stop him at the gate, held him with one hand, and her little son with the other. "Alas, *Caius*!" said she, I now
 "part with thee, not as if thou wert going
 "to harangue the people as a tribune, nor as
 "if thou wert entering on some glorious ex-
 "pedition, in which, if thou shouldst fall,
 "my grief would be attended with honour:
 "but thou exposest thyself to the murderers
 "of *Tiberius*, and generously goest unarmed,
 "chusing rather to suffer injuries than to do
 "them. Yet thy death can be of no service
 "to thy country; for violence and the sword
 "are now the only measures of justice. I
 "probably must be a suppliant to rivers to
 "discover thy body; for what protection
 "can we promise ourselves from the laws or
 "the gods, since the murder of *Tiberius*?"

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While *Licinia* was thus giving vent to her grief, *Caius* gently disengaged himself from her embraces, and walked on in silence with his friends; while she, endeavouring to catch hold of his robe, fell prostrate on the earth, where she lay long speechless, till being seen by her servants, they took her up, and conveyed her to her brother *Craffus*.

When all the people were assembled, *Fulvius*, by the advice of *Caius*, sent his youngest son, a very handsome youth, with a herald's wand to the Forum, where addressing himself to the senate with tears in his eyes, he humbly offered proposals of peace. The greatest part of the senate were inclined to accept them; but *Opimius* opposed it, crying, It did not become them to send their heralds to capitulate with the senate, but to surrender themselves to justice as offenders, and to endeavour, by submission, to obtain their pardon. He then ordered the youth not to return, except they would comply with these conditions. *Caius*, it is said, was desirous of going to clear himself before the senate, but his friends would not consent to it; on which *Fulvius* again sent his son with the same proposals. *Opimius*, who was bent on violent measures, now sent the youth to prison; and with a considerable body of foot, and some Cretan archers, attacked the party under the command of *Fulvius*. The archers did such execution, that they were soon put to flight. *Fulvius* concealed himself in an old bath, but being

being soon discovered, he and his eldest son were slain together. *Caius*, who was extremely concerned at these outrages, was not seen to attack any one; but retiring to the temple of *Diana*, he attempted to kill himself: he was, however, prevented by *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, two of his particular friends, who took his dagger from him, and pressed him to endeavour to make his escape. It is said, that before he left the temple, he fell on his knees, and earnestly implored the goddess to punish the ingratitude of the people, by suffering them to remain in slavery; for proclamation of pardon was no sooner made, than they instantly deserted him.

Caius was so closely pursued, that his enemies were almost come up with him when he got to a wooden bridge, when his two friends advised him to make the best of his way while they opposed his pursuers; and posting themselves at the foot of the bridge, defended it with such bravery, that none could pass till they were both slain. *Caius*, with no other companion than *Philocrates*, one of his slaves, still fled on foot, and his enemies gaining ground upon him, he got into a grove consecrated to the *Furies*; and there, at his own request, was slain by his slave, who afterwards killed himself. Some however say, they were both taken alive by their enemies, and that *Philocrates* embraced his master so close, that *Caius* could not be wounded till he was slain.

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The Death of C. Gracchus.

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It is said, that *Caius*'s head being cut off and carried away by one of his murderers, *Septimuleius*, one of the friends of *Opimius*, took it from him; for proclamation had been made before the battle, that whoever brought the heads of *Caius* and *Fulvius*, should be rewarded with their weight in gold. *Septimuleius* therefore, fixing *Caius*'s head on the top of a spear, presented it to *Opimius*, when it was found to weigh above seventeen pounds; for the wretch had taken out the brains, and supplied their place with lead. Others also brought the head of *Fulvius*, but did not receive the reward, on account of their being only mean persons.

The bodies of *Caius* and *Fulvius*, with those of the rest who had been slain, amounting in all to 3000 men, were all thrown into the *Tiber*; their goods were confiscated, and their widows forbid to put themselves into mourning. *Licinia*, the wife of *Caius*, was deprived of her portion, and, as an addition to their inhumanity, *Fulvius*'s youngest son was barbarously murdered, though he had neither taken arms against them, nor been present at the battle; his only crime being his having proposed articles of agreement: but what most enraged the people, was *Opimius*'s building a temple to *Concord*, as if he gloried in the slaughter of so many citizens.

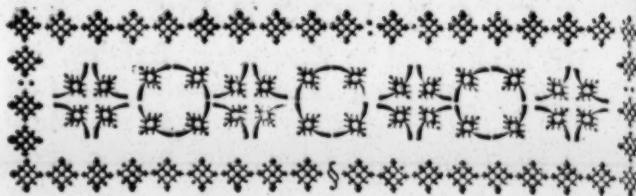
At length *Opimius* being sent ambassador to *Jugurtha* king of *Numidia*, was, at his return,

turn, shamefully convicted of taking bribes, and thus becoming infamous, passed a wretched old age amidst the hatred and contempt of the people: for though they were at first humbled by the outrage committed against them, yet they soon shewed the veneration and respect they felt for the memory of the *Gracchi*, by erecting their statues, consecrating the places where they were slain, and offering up to them the first fruits of the year. Many likewise sacrificed there, as at the temples of the gods.

In comparing the *Gracchi* with *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, if we consider the greatness of the innovations they attempted, we shall perceive a very wide difference between them; for the boldest of *Tiberius*'s designs was his division of the public lands, and of *Caius*, the addition of 300 of the knights to the same number of senators in the courts of judicature; while the alterations made by *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, did not consist in removing small disorders by little and little, but in making at once a thorough change, and restoring their city to its ancient state. But, whatever changes the *Gracchi* attempted to introduce, they were constantly opposed by the chief persons among the *Romans*; while the great things first attempted by *Agis*, and afterwards executed by *Cleomenes*, were supported by the most venerable authority, those ancient laws concerning frugality and equality

lity first established by *Lycurgus*. Besides, by the struggles of the *Gracchi* for the relief of their fellow-citizens, *Rome* received no addition to her former splendor; but by the conduct of *Cleomenes*, *Greece* in a short time saw *Sparta* exert her power over *Peloponnesus*, and contending for superiority with the greatest princes of the age, in order to deliver *Greece* from subjection, and restore her government to the race of *Hercules*.





THE
L I F E
O F
D E M E T R I U S.

DEMETRIUS, the son of *Antigonus*, was tall, and possessed of uncommon beauty. A pleasing sweetness, blended with gravity, was visible in his countenance. The vivacity of youth was tempered with a majestic mien, and an air truly royal and heroic. The same mixture was observable in his disposition, which was formed to inspire both affection and terror. In his hours of amusement and social pleasure, he was a delightful companion; and nothing could equal the splendor and luxury of his feasts; for he may be justly termed the most voluptuous of all princes;

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princes ; yet, in business and in war, he was active, enterprizing, resolute, and indefatigable.

His affection to his parents was very remarkable : One day, when *Demetrius* was just returned from the chace, he came into the hall where *Antigonus* was giving audience to some ambassadors, and having saluted him with a kiss, sat down by his side with his javelins in his hand. The ambassadors, who had received their answers, were going to withdraw ; but *Antigonus* calling to them, said, “ You may likewise inform your masters in what manner I and my son live together : ” intimating, that he was not afraid to let his son approach him with arms *, and that the good intelligence that subsisted between them constituted the greatest strength of his dominions, at the same time that it afforded him the most sensible pleasure.

That *Demetrius* was naturally of an humane and generous disposition, appears from the following instance : *Mithridates*, the son of *Ariobarzanes*, a youth of about the same age as *Demetrius*, and his intimate friend, was at the court of *Antigonus*, and was far from being of a treacherous disposition. *Antigonus*, however, dreamed that he was in a pleasant spacious field, which he sowed with filings of gold, from which there sprung up a gold-

* Neither the *Greeks* nor *Romans* wore arms, except in war or at the chace.

en harvest; but soon after returning, it was cut down, and nothing but the stalks remained: but while he was lamenting his disappointment, he heard that *Mithridates* had reaped the golden harvest, and had carried it towards the *Euxine* sea. *Antigonus*, much concerned at his dream, told it to his son, whom he had first obliged to promise upon oath never to speak of it, and at the same time informed him, that he was fully resolved to destroy *Mithridates*. *Demetrius* was extremely concerned; and when the young man came to see him, though he did not dare to mention it on account of the oath, drew him aside, and when they were alone, wrote these words on the ground with the point of his spear, *Fly Mithridates*. Being thus apprized of his danger, he fled by night into *Cappadocia*, and afterwards conquered a large and fertile country, and founded the race of the kings of *Pontus*, which after eight successive reigns was destroyed by the *Romans*.

Antigonus hearing that *Ptolemy* was ravaging *Syria*, where he had got possession of many cities, sent his son *Demetrius* against him, who was then only twenty-two years of age, and had never been intrusted with the supreme command in any important expedition: but so unexperienced a youth was unequally matched against a commander trained up under *Alexander*; he was accordingly defeated near the city of *Gaza*, with the loss of 5000 killed, and 8000 who were taken prisoners. He likewise lost his tents, his treasure, and all



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all his equipage: but these *Ptolemy* restored, with all *Demetrius*'s friends that had been taken in the battle; adding this polite message, *That all things were not the subject of their contention; but only glory and empire.* *Demetrius* struck with so obliging an instance of generosity, immediately begged of the gods, that he might not long continue indebted to *Ptolemy*'s generosity, but might soon have it in his power to return the favour.

Demetrius, instead of being dispirited by his ill success, immediately applied himself to the levying of soldiers, the providing of arms, and the exercising of his fresh troops: while his father being unwilling to damp his ardor, consented to intrust him again with the command. Soon after *Cilles*, *Ptolemy*'s general, looking upon *Demetrius* with contempt, on account of his late defeat, brought a great army into the field; but *Demetrius* attacking him by surprize, routed his army, seized his person and his camp, took 7000 prisoners, and a very rich booty. The glory and riches *Demetrius* had acquired by this victory, gave him less pleasure than his being able to return the obligation; he would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority; but wrote an account of the whole affair to his father, who permitting him to act in this affair as he should think proper, he immediately sent back *Cilles*, with all his friends loaden with magnificent presents, and all the baggage he had taken.

Demetrius being then sent to subdue the *Nabatæan Arabs*, he entered a desert country, where he and his army were in danger of perishing for want of water: but he so astonished the Barbarians by his firmness and intrepidity, that they made no resistance. Having therefore taken much plunder and 700 camels, he returned.

About this time *Seleucus*, who had been driven out of *Babylon* by *Antigonus*, and had afterwards recovered it, marched to subdue the country bordering on *India*, and near Mount *Caucasus*: on which Demetrius suddenly passed the *Euphrates*, and attacking the city of *Babylon*, took one of the two citadels, and having expelled the garrison of *Seleucus*, and placed there seven thousand of his own troops, returned towards the sea-coast, plundering all the country thro' which he passed. Then marching to the relief of *Halicarnassus*, which was besieged by *Ptolemy*, he obliged him to retire.

The great reputation *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* had acquired by this last exploit, filled them with the earnest desire of delivering *Greece* from its subjection to *Cassander* and *Ptolemy*. No prince ever entered on a war more glorious and just; for the treasures they had gained by conquering the Barbarians, they, without the least view of any other recompence than the honour of the undertaking, employed in the service of the *Grecians*.

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Demetrius sailed for *Athens* with 5000 talents of silver, and a fleet of 250 ships, where *Demetrius Phalereus* governed the city, under the authority of *Cassander*. The fleet no sooner appeared, than the inhabitants prepared for its reception, thinking the ships belonged to *Ptolemy*. The principal officers were at last undeceived, they instantly had recourse to arms for their defence, and every place was filled with tumult and confusion; being reduced to the sudden and unexpected necessity of repelling an enemy just ready to make a descent: for *Demetrius* finding the port open, had sailed directly in, and might be easily distinguished on the deck of his ship, where with his hand he made a signal to the people to be quiet, and lend him their attention. The tumult being at length calmed, he ordered a herald to proclaim, that he was sent thither by his father to reinstate the Athenians in the possession of their liberty; to drive out the garrison, and to restore their laws, and ancient plan of government.

The Athenians no sooner heard this proclamation, than throwing down their shields, and clapping their hands, they with loud acclamations of joy invited *Demetrius* to come ashore, calling him their deliverer and benefactor. *Phalareus* finding that all resistance would be vain, sent deputies to *Demetrius*, though he much doubted of his performing any part of what he had promised. *Demetrius* gave them a very agreeable reception, and sent back with them *Aristodemus* the *Mileian*,

one of his father's intimate friends, as an hostage. He also provided for the safety of *Phalereus*, who, on account of this revolution, had more reason to be apprehensive of the citizens than even of his enemies themselves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inspired the young prince with the highest respect for his person ; and, in compliance with his own request, he sent him with a strong guard to *Thebes*. He then told the *Athenians*, that though he was very desirous of visiting their city, he would deny himself that satisfaction, till he had fully restored its liberty by expelling the garrison. He therefore opened a ditch, and raised a rampart round the fortress of *Munychia*, and then embarked for *Megara*, where *Cassander* had placed another garrison.

Upon his arrival at that city, he was informed, that *Cratesipolis*, the widow of *Alexander*, the son of *Polypherchon*, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, was at *Patræ*, and had some favourable dispositions towards him. He therefore left his army in the territories of *Megara*, and taking a small body of light horse, set out for *Patræ*, and when he had arrived within a small distance of that city, secretly withdrew from his people, and caused a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that *Cratesipolis* might not be seen when she came to him : but a party of the enemy getting intelligence of this imprudent proceeding, marched against him when he least expected such a visit, and he had but

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just time to disguise himself in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; thus he narrowly escaped a disgraceful captivity as the punishment of his lewdness. The enemy, however, seized his tent, with the riches it contained.

The city of *Megara* being taken, the soldiers began to pillage it; but the *Athenians* interceding for the inhabitants, the city was saved, and *Demetrius* having driven out the garrison, restored the city to its former freedom. *Stilpo*, a celebrated philosopher living in that city, *Demetrius* sent for him, and asked him, *If he had been robbed of any thing?* *No*, replied *Stilpo*, *I have not seen any one carrying away knowledge.* Though the city had been saved from pillage all the slaves had been taken by the soldiers. *Demetrius*, on his leaving the city, caressed *Stilpo*, and after some kind and familiar conversation with that philosopher, said, “*Well Stilpo, I leave the city perfectly free.*” “*True, replied he, for thou hast not left us so much as one slave in it.*”

Demetrius, upon his return, laid close siege to *Munychia*, drove out the garrison, and razed the fort. He then, at the invitation of the *Athenians*, entered the city, and calling an assembly of the people, restored their ancient form of government, promising at the same time, that his father should send them 150,000 measures of corn, and timber sufficient to build an hundred gallies. Thus the

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Athenians recovered their democracy, after they had lost it fifteen years.

The *Athenians*, to express their gratitude, were guilty of the most extravagant and impious adulation, they first gave the title of king to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, an honour which they themselves had always declined, as belonging only to the family of *Philip* and *Alexander*. They likewise honoured them with the title of *tutelar deities*, and instead of the office of chief archon, from whom the year used to take its denomination, they elected a priest of those tutelar deities, in whose name all the public acts and decrees were passed. They decreed, that the figures of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* should be wrought in the sacred veil together with those of the gods. They even consecrated the spot of ground on which *Demetrius* alighted from his chariot, and erecting an altar upon it, called it the *Altar of Demetrius descending from his chariot*. They added to the ancient twelve tribes two more, which they called *Demetrias* and *Antigonus*, and they likewise changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order, that those who should be sent by the people to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, should not be called ambassadors, but *Theori*, a name peculiar to those who were sent to the oracle of *Delphi*, or who conducted the sacrifices to *Olympia* in the solemn festivals of *Greece*. A decree was proposed, that whenever *Demetrius* came to *Athens*, he should be received with the same honours that were

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paid to *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, and that whoever surpassed the rest in splendor and magnificence on that occasion, should receive a sum of money out of the public treasury. In short, the festival of *Bacchus* was no longer to be called *Dionysia*, but *Demetria*.

While *Demetrius* was at *Athens*, he received orders from his father to carry on the war against *Ptolemy* at *Cyprus*. When being unwilling to abandon the hopes of delivering *Greece*, he sent to bribe *Cleonides*, *Ptolemy*'s general, who had in his possession the cities of *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, by offering him a sum of money, on condition of his withdrawing his garrisons, and restoring the liberty of the inhabitants; but upon his refusal, he sailed with his army to *Cyprus*, where he no sooner arrived, than he defeated *Menelaus*, *Ptolemy*'s brother. Soon after *Ptolemy* himself appeared with a numerous army and a considerable fleet. Not only *Demetrius* and *Ptolemy*, but all the other princes were filled with great solicitude about the event of this battle, since whoever was victor, would become both the master of *Cyprus* and *Syria*, and the chief of all the successors of *Alexander*.

Ptolemy, who had 150 ships, ordered *Menelaus*, who lay at *Salamis* with sixty ships, to attack the rear of *Demetrius*'s fleet in the heat of the engagement, and by that means throw it into disorder. But *Demetrius* blocked up the mouth of the harbour, which was very streight, with ten ships, and thus rendered the sixty vessels under *Menelaus* entirely useless.

less. Then, having drawn up his army on some points of land that project into the sea, he advanced against *Ptolemy* with 180 ships, and, obtaining a compleat victory, obliged him to save himself by flight, with only eight ships, which were all that escaped: seventy being taken with all the men on board, and the rest sunk; and all *Ptolemy*'s friends, wives, servants, arms, money, and military machines, which were on board some ships of burthen, at a small distance, fell into the hands of *Demetrius*. This defeat was followed by *Menelaus*'s surrendering *Salamis* to *Demetrius*, together with his fleet and land forces, consisting of 1200 horse, and 12,000 foot. *Demetrius* added to the glory of this great and signal victory, by his humanity and generous behaviour after it: for he caused the slain to be honourably interred, and once more to return the civilities he had formerly experienced from *Ptolemy*, dismissed the principal prisoners: besides, he selected out of the spoils 1200 compleat suits of armour, which he sent as a present to the *Athenians*.

Antigonus, who was in *Syria*, waited with the utmost anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, on the success of which many important events depended; and when he received intelligence, that *Demetrius* had obtained a compleat victory, his joy was in proportion to his former solicitude. His friends immediately placed a diadem on his head; and he sent one to *Demetrius*, with a letter, in which he stiled him king. This,

no sooner came to the knowledge of the *Egyptians*, than they proclaimed *Ptolemy* king, to shew, that they were not discouraged by their late defeat, and the same emulation was diffused among the other successors of *Alexander*; for *Lysimachus* also assumed the diadem, and *Seleucus* now took the title of king in his transactions with the *Grecians*, as he had before done with the *Barbarians*. *Cassander* alone, though he was styled king by all who wrote or spoke to him, would not himself assume the title, but continued to write his letters in the same form as before. This assumption of the regal dignity ought not to be considered merely as the addition of a title, or as an alteration of dress; for the change extended even to the dispositions of the mind; it swelled their pride and ambition, rendered them imperious, and produced a vain ostentation of grandeur in their manner of living.

Antigonus, flushed with his son's success at *Cyprus*, immediately marched, at the head of his land forces, against *Ptolemy*, while *Demetrius*, coasting the shore, accompanied him with a powerful fleet: but *Antigonus*, meeting with variety of distresses by land, and *Demetrius*, losing a considerable part of his fleet in a storm, they both returned without executing any thing.

Antigonus was almost eighty years of age, and this, together with his being extremely fat, rendered him unfit for the activity of a military life; he, therefore, made use of his

son, who, from his experience, and the success that attended him, transacted the most important affairs with great ability: he, therefore, patiently bore with his luxury, extravagance, and fondness for women. Demetrius had besides an inventive genius, and a fine turn of mind for the sciences. His application to the mechanic arts had something great and truly royal in it; his galleys with fifteen and sixteen ranks of oars, filled his enemies with admiration, when they beheld them passing by their coasts, and his engine called *helepoles* appeared beautiful, even to the inhabitants of those cities who were attacked by them. The Rhodians, whom he for a long time besieged, on the conclusion of a peace, entreated him to give them some of those machines, that they might keep them as a monument both of his power, and their bravery.

The Athenians desiring Demetrius to assist them against Cassander, by whom they were besieged, he failed to their relief with a fleet of 330 ships, and a strong body of land forces, and, driving Cassander out of Attica pursued him as far as Thermopylae, and there entirely defeated him. On his return, he restored liberty to all the Grecians within Thermopylae, and concluded an alliance with the Bœotians. On his return to Athens, though the inhabitants had lavished on him all the honours they were able to invent, they had now recourse to new flatteries. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of

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Minerva; but he did not behave with the sobriety and decency of a person who lodged in the house of a virgin goddess; for he did not scruple to defile it by the most infamous and scandalous debaucheries, and his courtesans were treated with more honour than *Minerva* herself.

Afterwards *Demetrius* marching into *Peloponnesus*, his enemies every where fled before him, and abandoned their towns, on which he made himself master of all *Arcadia*, except *Mantinea*; and, by giving an hundred talents to the garrisons in *Corinth*, *Sicyon* and *Argos*, he restored the liberty of those cities. The states of *Greece*, being assembled in the isthmus, *Demetrius* was declared general of all the *Greeks*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had also been; but he was so elated by his success and power, that he let every body see he thought himself much superior to those princes.

Antigonus might easily have enjoyed the pre-eminence over the other kings, and at his death have bequeathed it to his son; but his excessive ambition, and the insolent manner in which he spoke of those princes, made them all enter into a confederacy against him. In the vanity of his heart, he boasted, that he could disparte this union, with as much ease as a flock of birds is driven from a field of corn, by throwing a stone, or making a noise. His army consisted of 70,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 75 elephants: and that of the enemy was composed of 64,000 foot, 10,500 horse, 400 elephants, and 120 armed chariots:

chariots: but at the approach of these two armies, *Antigonus* seemed to lose his usual confidence of success. When the engagement * began, *Demetrius*, at the head of the best and greatest part of the cavalry, charged the troops commanded by *Antiochus*, the son of *Seleucus*, with such bravery, that he soon put them to flight: but, pursuing them with an unseasonable eagerness, was unable to return time enough to join the infantry. For *Seleucus*, with his cavalry, observing, that the foot were left quite exposed, only made feint attacks, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, to intimidate and afford them an opportunity of quitting the army of *Antigonus*, and coming over to his own. This design succeeded: for the greatest part of them voluntarily deserted to him, and the rest betook themselves to flight. Soon after, a large body of *Seleucus*'s army, made a furious attack upon *Antigonus*, who sustained their efforts for some time; but, being at last wounded by the many darts that were thrown at him, he fell down dead, on which all his friends forsook him, except *Thorax* the *Lacedæmonian*, who alone remained by his dead body.

The kingdom of *Antigenus* and *Demetrius* was now immediately divided by the conquerors, each of whom took a limb of that great body. *Demetrius* escaped with 5000

* This is called the battle of *Ipsus*, from its being fought near that city.

foot and 400 horse, and marched with the utmost expedition to *Ephesus*, from whence he set sail for *Greece*, placing his chief hope in the *Athenians*, with whom he had left his ships, his money, and *Deidamia* one of his wives; for he thought that, in the present state of his affairs, his surest refuge was in the friendship of that people. But, during his voyage, he was met by some ambassadors from *Athens*, who let him know that he must not approach that city; for the people had passed a decree, that no king should be admitted within their walls: but that *Deidamia* had been sent to *Megara*, with all the respect and attendance due to her rank. *Demetrius*, now enraged, could no longer support his constancy of mind. He had hitherto borne his misfortunes with composure, and betrayed no weakness, or dejection on his suffering so irreparable a defeat, but he was unable to bear the disappointment of his expectations from the *Athenians*, nor could he see with patience that all the regard they had expressed for him, and all their flattery was dissimulation: but the situation of his affairs not permitting him to revenge the perfidy of that people, he mildly expostulated with them by his ambassadors, and only desired them to send back his ships. As soon as he had received them he sailed to the isthmus, where, finding that all his garrisons had deserted to the enemy, he steered

to the *Chersonesus* *, and, having committed some devastations in the territories of *Lysimachus*, he enriched his soldiers with the spoils, and, at the same time, encreased their number.

Soon after, *Seleucus* sent to propose a marriage between himself and *Stratonice*, one of the daughters of *Demetrius*. This was considered by that prince as a very unexpected and most fortunate event, he therefore taking his daughter, immediately set sail with his whole fleet towards *Syria*. During his passage, he made a descent on *Cilicia*, which then belonged to *Pliscarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*. *Pliscarchus* went to complain of this proceeding to *Seleucus*, and to reproach him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy. *Demetrius*, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of *Quinda*, where he seized 500 talents that yet remained of his father's treasures, and then returning with the utmost expedition to his fleet, continued his voyage to *Syria*, where he found *Seleucus*, and gave him his daughter in marriage. *Demetrius*, after some days passed in rejoicings for the nuptials, returned to *Cilicia*, and made himself master of the whole province; after which he sent his wife *Phila* to her brother *Cassander*, in order to excuse this proceeding.

* The reader may see a description of the present state of the *Chersonesus*, in *The World displayed*, Vol. xv. p. 85.

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Soon after *Demetrius*, being reconciled to *Ptolemy*, by means of *Seleucus*, was contracted to *Ptolemais*, the daughter of *Ptolemy*. *Seleucus* had hitherto behaved in a courteous and friendly manner; but when he afterwards desired *Demetrius* to give him *Cilicia* for a sum of money, and, on his refusal, demanded the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, he was censured as unjust. How shameful was it for a prince, whose dominions extended from *India* to the *Syrian sea*, to be so insatiable; as for the sake of two cities to oppress one who was so nearly related to him by marriage, and who had already felt so severe a stroke of fortune! This confirms the observation of *Plato*, *That the man, who would be truly rich, should rather contract his desires, than increase his wealth*; for he that sets no bounds to his avarice must ever be poor and indigent. *Demetrius*, unterrified by his threats, told him, that he had rather suffer a thousand such defeats as that of *Ipsus*, than purchase the alliance of *Seleucus*, and immediately placed a strong garrison in each of those cities.

Demetrius now hearing that *Athens* was under the tyranny of *Lachares*, who had seized the government, sailed towards that city; but, meeting with a great storm, he lost most of his ships. He therefore sent some of his officers to assemble a new fleet, and, in the mean time, landing in *Peloponnesus*, laid siege to *Messene*, where, making an assault on the walls, an arrow discharged from an engine

Sine pierced through his jaw, and entered his mouth. His wound was no sooner healed, than he retook some towns that had revolted from him, ravaged the country of *Attica*, and, having taken a ship bringing corn to *Athens*, hung up both the merchant and the pilot, which deterring others from bringing provisions, that city was soon reduced to the utmost distress. A fleet of 150 sail sent by king *Ptolemy*, to succour the *Athenians*, appearing on the coast of *Ægina*, afforded them only a transient joy; for *Demetrius* then receiving a large reinforcement of ships both from *Peloponnesus* and *Cyprus*, *Ptolemy's* fleet weighed anchor and fled; upon which *Lachares* privately escaped from the city.

Though the *Athenians* had issued a decree forbidding any one, on pain of death, even to mention an accommodation with *Demetrius*, yet now compelled by famine, they opened the nearest gate to him. On his entering the city, he ordered the inhabitants to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with armed troops, and placed his guards on each side the stage, where the dramatic pieces were performed. Then descending through the passage by which the actors enter, he shewed himself to the people, who, with inexpressible terror, waited for the event: but he no sooner began to speak than he dissipated their fears. For, softening his voice, he only addressed himself to them in gentle complaints and amicable expostulations on their

past behaviour, and assured them of his forgiveness. He then made them a present of 100,000 measures of corn, and appointed such persons magistrates, as he knew would be most agreeable to them. The people now expressed their joy by continual acclamations, and a decree was passed, that the forts of *Piræus* and *Munychia* should be put into his hands. After which he placed another garrison in the *Museum*, that their caprices might never, for the future, interrupt his other designs.

Demetrius next turned his arms against the *Spartans*, and having defeated king *Archidamus*, who met him at *Mantinea*, entered *Laconia*, and gained a second victory under the very walls of *Sparta*, so that he considered himself as master of that city, which had never yet been taken.

But no king seems to have experienced such great and sudden changes of fortune as *Demetrius*; in that important moment he received two interesting pieces of intelligence. The first, that *Lysimachus* had seized all the cities that belonged to him in *Asia*, and that *Ptolemy* had reduced the whole island of *Cyprus*, except *Salamis*, whither his wife and children had retired, and were now closely besieged. But when Fortune had by these dreadful tidings forced him to quit *Sparta**, the

* *Demetrius* left all to fly to the assistance of his wife and children; but was soon informed, that

she instantly raised his hopes, by engaging him in new adventures.

Cassander, king of *Macedon* dying, was succeeded by his eldest son *Philip*, who did not long survive his father. Upon his death, his two brothers contending for the empire, *Antipater* the eldest killed his mother *Theffalonica*, for favouring her youngest son *Alexander*; who, in order to revenge this unnatural barbarity, solicited the assistance of *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*. *Pyrrhus* arrived first, and seized a part of *Macedonia*, as a reward for his service: and *Demetrius* no sooner received the letter than he began his march. But *Alexander* being now afraid of him, met him on the way, and having accosted him with great civility, told him that his affairs were now in such a situation as not to require his assistance. Hence a suspicion arose between them, and *Demetrius* being invited to supper with *Alexander*, was told as he was going to it, that a plot was laid to murder him at the entertainment: upon receiving this intelligence, he slackened his pace, and ordering his officers to keep the soldiers under arms, commanded his attendants to follow

that the place had surrendered. *Ptolemy* had, however, the generosity to dismiss the mother, wife, and children of his enemy without ransom, and not only restored all their attendants and effects, but at their departure made them magnificent presents.

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him into the apartment where the entertainment was to be given, and to stay there till he rose from table. *Alexander's* attendants seeing *Demetrius* so well guarded, did not dare to execute their design. The next day *Demetrius* decamped, telling *Alexander* that he was called away by some important affairs: when being highly pleased at his quitting his dominions, without showing any resentment, he followed him as far as *Thessaly*. On their arrival at *Larissa*, they renewed their mutual entertainments, which were designed as snares for each other; and thus *Alexander* gave *Demetrius* an opportunity to circumvent him: for being apprehensive, that caution on his part would produce caution on the other, he neglected to provide for his own safety; and thus he himself suffered what he had designed against *Demetrius*; for being invited by him to supper, *Demetrius* suddenly rose from table; at which *Alexander* being alarmed, rose up likewise, and followed him. When being come to the door, he said to his guards, “Kill him that follows me,” and then passed on, while they slew *Alexander*, with such of his friends as came to his assistance: one of whom, when dying, said, that *Demetrius* had prevented them only by a day. The *Macedonians* were all that night filled with the utmost terror, from their dreading the power of *Demetrius*; but finding, in the morning, that no violence was offered them, and that *Demetrius* justified what he had done, their aversion to *Antipater*,

tipater, the infamous murderer of his own mother, induced them to proclaim *Demetrius* king of *Macedonia*.

Soon after *Demetrius* heard that *Stratonice*, his daughter, who had been married to *Selucus*, was become the wife of *Antiochus*, *Selucus*'s son, and was proclaimed queen: for *Antiochus* had fallen in love with the young *Stratonice*, who had already borne *Selucus* a son. He had struggled with his passion, reproaching himself for the extravagance of his unlawful desires, and reflecting, that it was impossible they should be gratified, at last resolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from food, and with this view feigned himself sick. *Erasistratus*, the physician, soon perceived that he was in love; but it was difficult to guess the object of his passion. Being desirous of discovering this, he remained continually in his patient's apartment; and, when he saw any lady enter, carefully observed the prince's countenance; but observed that he never discovered the least emotion, except when *Stratonice* came into the chamber, when he shewed all the symptoms of a violent passion. *Erasistratus*, thus convinced that the prince's love was fixed on *Stratonice*, and that he resolved to die rather than disclose it, thought it very dangerous to mention it to *Selucus*; yet depending on that king's affection to his son, he ventured to tell him, That the prince's distemper was love, but that it was incurable, because there was no possibility of gratifying his passion.

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Seleucus extremely surprized, asked, Why this was impossible? "Because she is my wife, said the physician." "Will you not part with her then, replied the king, to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love?" "Let me entreat you, my lord, returned the physician, to imagine yourself for one moment in my place, would you resign your *Stratonice* to his arms?" "I would with pleasure resign *Stratonice* and my empire to him, interrupted the king." "Your majesty then, returned the physician, has the remedy in your own hands; for he loves *Stratonice*." The father did not hesitate a moment after this declaration, he easily obtained the consent of his young consort; after which *Antiochus* and that princess were crowned king and queen of the upper provinces.

Though *Demetrius* was at this time in possession of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, of the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*, and of *Megara* and *Athens*; he now took *Thebes*, and soon after turned his arms against the *Aetolians*; and having plundered their country, left *Pantauchus* there with a considerable part of his forces, and with the rest marched against *Pyrrhus*, who was advancing against him; but missing each other, *Pyrrhus*, while *Demetrius* was ravaging *Epirus*, came up with *Pantauchus*, and after a bloody battle, obtained a complete victory, which greatly contributed to the ruin of *Demetrius*. For the *Macedonians* felt less resentment for the loss

they had suffered, than admiration at the strength and courage of *Pyrrhus*, and fancied that they saw in him alone, a valour resembling that of *Alexander*; while *Demetrius* only imitated him in his haughty air and majestic port. His pomp appeared perfectly theatrical; for he not only wore a double diadem, and a splendid purple robe bordered with gold, but even his shoes were of the richest purple mixed with gold. This ostentation in his dress gave great offence to the *Macedonians*; but they were still more displeased at his luxurious and dissolute manner of life, and most of all at his difficulty of access. One day, when *Demetrius* was going out of his palace, and seemed to shew more than usual condescension, several persons ran up to him, and presented petitions in writing, which he favourably received, and put into the skirt of his robe; on which the people, highly pleased, attended him on his way; but on his coming to the bridge over the river *Axius*, he opened his robe, and threw all the petitions into the water. The *Macedonians* were mortified at seeing themselves thus wantonly insulted, instead of being governed with equity and moderation; and they could not help calling to mind the popular behaviour of *Philip*, who, as he was once passing along, was accosted by an old woman, that with great importunity desired him to hear her complaint; when telling her he was not at leisure, she replied, "Then thou shouldst not be a king." This answer made so strong

an impression upon him, that returning home, he laid aside all other business, and employed several days in giving audience to all who came, beginning with the old woman. Indeed, there is no employment so worthy of a king as the administration of justice; for *Mars* is a tyrant, but *Justice* is the rightful sovereign of the world. *Demetrius*, however, prided himself in being called *Poliorcetes*, or the destroyer of cities. Thus vice substituted in the place of virtue; and the very title, on which the conqueror builds his fame, only serves to proclaim his injustice.

Demetrius now concluded a peace with *Pyrrhus*, in order to execute the vast designs he had formed, which were no less than the recovery of all his father's dominions. He had already raised an army of 98,000 foot, and almost 12,000 horse, and was building 500 ships at different places, whither he himself went to animate and direct the workmen. The number of his vessels, and their extraordinary dimensions, created an universal astonishment; for galleys of fifteen or sixteen ranks of oars had never been seen till then. *Lysimachus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Seleucus* immediately caught the alarm, and uniting to oppose *Demetrius*, sent a joint embassy to *Pyrrhus*, advising him to invade *Macedonia*, and not to consider his treaty with *Demetrius* as valid, since he had only made it to obtain an opportunity of attacking others. *Pyrrhus* was prevailed on by their arguments; and *Demetrius*, before he had completed his pre-

parations, found himself attacked on every side. Upon the arrival of *Ptolemy* with a great fleet, *Greece* revolted from him; and, at the same time, *Lysimachus* entering *Macedonia* on one side, and *Pyrrhus* on the other, ravaged the country. *Demetrius* leaving *Greece* to the care of his son, went to the relief of *Macedonia*, marching first against *Lysimachus*; but being informed by the way, that *Pyrrhus* had taken the city of *Berœa*, this news caused so great a disorder in his army, that a considerable part of his troops absolutely refused to follow him, and declared with an air of mutiny and sedition, that they would return, in order to defend their families and effects; though they really designed to go over to *Lysimachus*. This induced *Demetrius* to remove farther from him, and to march against *Pyrrhus*; for, though the *Macedonians* might have a regard for *Lysimachus*, on account of his being their countryman, he imagined that *Pyrrhus*, who was a foreigner, would not be preferred to him; but in this he was greatly deceived. For encamping at a small distance from *Pyrrhus*, the *Macedonians* looked on him with admiration on account of his military exploits, and being now informed of his humanity to his prisoners, resolved to quit *Demetrius*. They at first deserted privately in small parties; but soon after the whole army mutinied, and some had the boldness to come to *Demetrius* to advise him to provide for his safety, telling him, that the *Macedonians* were weary of fighting

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to support his luxury; on which, entering his tent, he changed his splendid robe for a mean habit, and privately withdrew from his camp. The kingdom of *Macedonia* was then divided between *Pyrrhus* and *Lysimachus*, after *Demetrius* had enjoyed the quiet possession of it seven years.

Demetrius, on his being thus expelled from his kingdom, fled to *Cassandria* *, where his wife *Phila* resided: that lady was so afflicted at this new reverse of fortune, in which she beheld her husband a private man and an exile, that she had recourse to a dose of poison; and thus ended a life, which was become more insupportable to her than death itself.

Demetrius, in order to gather up the remains of his shattered fortune, went into *Greece*, and assembled those of his officers and friends whom he found there; for, though his glory seemed quite extinguished, a gleam of light again broke out, and the forces which gradually came from all parts to join him, inspired him with fresh hopes. He now, for the first time, divested himself of his regal ornaments, and, in the habit of a private person, visited the several cities. Having at length assembled such a force as once more gave him the appearance of a king, he restored to the *Thebans* their laws and political constitution.

* A city of *Upper Macedonia*, seated on the frontiers of *Thrace*.

The Athenians now revolting from him, removed *Diphilus*, the priest of the *Protecting Deities*, and decreed, that for the future, archons should be chosen as formerly. *Demetrius* being greatly enraged, immediately marched against them, and laid close siege to the city. *Cratus* the philosopher, however, being sent to him by the people, prevailed on him to retire, by shewing, that he might employ his arms more to his own advantage: he therefore embarked with his whole army, which consisted of 11,000 foot, besides cavalry, and sailed towards *Asia*, in order to recover *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lysimachus*. Arriving at *Miletus*, he married *Ptolemais*, one of the daughters of *Ptolemy*, who had before been promised him at the request of *Seleucus*; he then took some of the neighbouring cities, and many of them voluntarily surrendered to him; also some of *Lysimachus*'s officers deserted to him, bringing him both soldiers and money. But at length *Agathocles*, the son of *Lysimachus*, advancing against him with a considerable army, he retired into *Phrygia*, in order to attempt the conquest of *Armenia*; but *Agathocles* following him close, cut off his provisions and forage, by which means his soldiers were reduced to great distress, and a sickness soon spreading through the army, weakened it extremely. After having lost 8000 men, he returned back with those that were left, and on his coming to *Tarsus*, would have spared the

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country on account of its belonging to *Seleucus*, whom he was unwilling to offend; but finding that the extremity to which his soldiers were reduced, rendered that impossible, he wrote to *Seleucus* to let him know the melancholy situation of his affairs, and entreated him, in the most moving terms, to afford him necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. *Seleucus* was at first touched with compassion, and dispatched orders for furnishing him with all he should want: but remonstrances being afterwards made to him on the valour, abilities, and enterprizing genius of *Demetrius*, he resolved on his destruction, and marched into *Cilicia* at the head of a considerable army. *Demetrius*, astonished and terrified at this sudden change, desired that he might be allowed to subdue some of the independent Barbarian nations, and establish a kingdom among them, where he might pass the rest of his days in tranquillity; but that, if he should not be inclinable to grant him that favour, he entreated him to consent to his taking up his winter quarters in his dominions, and not by driving him out, to expose him naked and defenceless to his enemies.

Seleucus suspecting his sincerity, let him know that he would allow him to remain two months in *Cataonia* *, upon condition of his

* *Cataonia* was a province adjacent to *Capadoccia*.

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delivering up his chief friends as hostages ; and in the mean time he placed strong guards at all the passes leading into Syria. This obliged *Demetrius* to have recourse to arms, in order to defend himself : but though he was frequently attacked by *Seleucus*, he had always the advantage ; and, at length, dislodging those who guarded the passes in the mountains, he opened himself a passage into Syria.

Demetrius's hopes, and the courage of his soldiers reviving at this success, he endeavoured to make a last effort for the re-establishment of his affairs by a decisive battle : but he had the misfortune to be suddenly seized with a violent distemper, which not only weakened his body, but disconcerted all his measures ; for, during the forty days that he continued sick, most of his soldiers deserted, and when he at last recovered his health, he found himself reduced to the necessity of attempting to surprize *Seleucus* in his camp by night, with the few men who still continued in his service. Some deserters gave *Seleucus* intelligence of this design, while the troops were marching to execute it ; this *Demetrius* perceived from the noise he heard in the enemy's camp ; he marched back in haste, and the desertion of his troops increased upon this disappointment. He then, as his last resource, fled to the passes of Mount *Amanus*, and entering a thick wood with a small number of his friends and attendants,

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tendants, resolved to wait there till night, and then, if possible, proceed to the sea-coast, where he expected to find his fleet. After it was dark, he and his few followers again set forward, but perceived by the fires lighted on every side, that the enemy had secured the passes: on which they returned to their former station. One of them then proposing to *Demetrius*, that he should surrender himself to *Seleucus*, he drew his sword, in order to kill himself; but was prevented by his friends, who at last prevailed on him to follow that advice.

Seleucus, on receiving this intelligence, expressed his satisfaction, that his good fortune had afforded him an opportunity of shewing his humanity and generosity, and immediately ordered the officers of his household to erect a royal pavilion, and to prepare for giving *Demetrius* a magnificent reception. He then sent *Apollonides*, who had been intimate with *Demetrius*, to remove his apprehensions. The courtiers expecting that *Demetrius* would be highly in favour with their master, eagerly ran, striving who should be the first to do him honour. But this zeal changed the compassion of *Seleucus* into jealousy, and gave the envious and malevolent an opportunity to check his favourable disposition, by alarming him with fears, lest *Demetrius*'s presence should occasion a dangerous commotion in the army.

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Mean while *Apollonides* joyfully delivered his message to *Demetrius*; and soon after others came with surprizing accounts of the generous intentions of *Seleucus*; whence *Demetrius* began to entertain the most pleasing expectations. But *Pausanias* arriving with about 200 soldiers, surrounded him, and conducted him into the *Syrian Chersonesus*, where a strong guard was placed over him. He had, however, a sufficient number of attendants, and a liberal allowance both of money and provisions for his table; while he was allowed for his diversion spacious walks and parks abounding with game. His friends, who accompanied him in his flight, had the liberty of conversing with him, and *Seleucus* frequently sent him obliging messages.

When *Antigonus* was informed of his father's captivity, he was filled with the utmost sorrow; he put on mourning, and wrote to all the kings, and even to *Seleucus* himself, offering his own person as an hostage for him, and consenting to deliver up all his remaining dominions, as the price of his liberty. Many cities and princes also joined with *Antigonus* in interceding for *Demetrius*; but *Lysimachus* offered *Seleucus* a large sum of money, on condition he would cause his prisoner to be put to death. The king of *Syria* was filled with horror at so barbarous and inhuman a proposal, and, in order to grant a favour solicited by so many different parties, only seemed to wait the arrival of *Antigonus*

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In the mean time, *Demetrius* supported his misfortunes with patience and magnanimity, and became at last so habituated to them, that they no longer seemed to affect him. He diverted and exercised himself by riding and hunting within the bounds prescrib'd him; and after some time, gave himself up to drinking and gaming. In short, after he had been three years in this kind of confinement, he was attacked by a disease, occasioned by his intemperance in eating and drinking, which put an end to his life in the fifty-fourth year of his age*.

Antigonus, hearing that a ship was bringing him the ashes of his father from *Syria*, set sail to meet it with his whole fleet; and having received the golden urn in which they were contained, he placed it on board the royal galley. All the cities at which he stopped in his passage, brought crowns to adorn the urn, and sent persons dressed in mourning to assist at the funeral solemnity. On the arrival of the fleet at *Corinth*, the urn was, on a conspicuous place at the stern of the vessel, adorned with the regal purple and diadem, and encompassed by a band of young men in arms. By the side of it sat *Xenophantus*, the most celebrated performer on

* In the 286th year before the birth of our Saviour.

the flute of his time, playing a solemn air, while the oars striking the water, regularly kept time with the music. All who were assembled on shore, were filled with compassion at beholding the dejected countenance and the tears of *Antigonus*. From *Corinth* he carried the urn to *Demetrias* *, where it was deposited.

* This was a city that took its name from *Demetrius*.





THE
LIFE
OF
MARK ANTONY.*

ANTONY was a very beautiful youth; but having the misfortune to enter into a friendship with *Curio*, a man abandoned to his pleasures, he was seduced into a lewd drunken course of life, and contracting large debts, *Curio* was bound for the payment of them, on which *Curio's* father forbid *Antony's* entering his house. Soon after he became intimate with *Clodius*, the most profligate of all the tribunes of that age, and

* In Latin *Marcus Antonius*.

joined in the desperate measures by which he attempted to throw the state into confusion; but being afraid of the powerful party formed against that tribune, *Antony* travelled into *Greece*, where he passed his time in warlike exercises, and the study of eloquence.

At length *Gabinius*, the proconsul, invited him to make a campaign with him in *Syria*, and appointed him commander of the horse. He first marched against *Aristobulus*, who had prevailed on the *Jews* to revolt. He himself first scaled the walls of *Jerusalem*, and afterwards defeated him in a pitched battle, cut to pieces most of his men, and took him and his son prisoners.

Gabinius being then sollicited by *Ptolemy* to march with him into *Egypt*, in order to restore him to his kingdom, for which he was to receive 10,000 talents, *Antony*, who was desirous of gratifying a suppliant king, persuaded *Gabinius* to comply, and at last prevailed. They were all of opinion, that the march to *Pelusium* * was more dangerous than the war itself, as it lay through deep sands, where no water was to be expected: but *Antony* being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only made himself master of the passes, but took *Pelusium*, a very considerable

* A city of *Egypt*, now called *Damiata*; a description of which may be seen in Dr. *Pococke's Travels* inserted in *The World display'd*, vol. xii. p. 71.

city, and made the garrison prisoners. When *Ptolemy* entered that city, he was so enraged at the *Egyptians*, that he resolved to put them all to the sword ; but *Antony* resolutely opposed him, and prevented his executing so barbarous a resolution. Afterwards, in the many great battles that were fought, he gave signal proofs of his bravery and conduct.

He had a remarkable elegance and dignity of mien ; his beard was of a graceful length, his forehead large, his nose aquiline ; and he had a manliness of countenance that gave him a resemblance to the statues and pictures of *Hercules*. Indeed there was an ancient tradition, that he was descended from one of the sons of *Hercules*, named *Anteon* ; which *Antony* endeavoured to confirm, by his always appearing in public with his vest girt low about the hips, with a large sword by his side, and over all a coarse mantle.

The citizens of *Rome* were then divided into two parties ; those that favoured the senate adhered to *Pompey*, while the popular party were for *Cæsar*. *Antony*, who was first made tribune of the people, and afterwards augur, was of great service to the latter ; but being at length brow-beat by *Cato*, and ordered to leave the senate by *Lentulus* the consul, he disguised himself in the habit of a servant, and accompanied only by *Quintus Cætius*, left *Rome* in a hired chariot, and went to *Cæsar*, who was in *Gaul*, where he loudly complained, that affairs at *Rome* were transacted without any regard to the laws ; that the tribunes were denied the privilege of speaking ; and

that he, who had asserted what was just and reasonable, was expelled, and put in danger of his life. Upon this *Cæsar* marched with his army into *Italy*: hence *Cicero*, in his *Philippics*, says, that *Antony* was the cause of the civil war, as *Helen* was of the Trojan. This however is not true: he indeed afforded *Cæsar*, who had long wanted a pretence for declaring war, a fair and plausible occasion; but his real motive was the same that long before set *Cyrus* and *Alexander* at variance with all mankind; the unquenchable thirst of empire, and the mad ambition of being the greatest man upon earth, which was impossible to be obtained, till he had reduced *Pompey*.

Cæsar had no sooner driven *Pompey* out of *Italy*, than resolving to turn his arms against the legions *Pompey* had in *Spain*, and then to go in pursuit of *Pompey* himself, he left the government of *Rome* to *Lepidus* the prætor, and the government of *Italy*, with the command of the army to *Antony*, who was tribune of the people. Upon this the latter soon gained the affections of his soldiers, by joining in their exercises; by eating and drinking with them, and making them presents. But he was too indolent to attend to the complaints of the injured, and to those who came to him on business he was peevish and impatient. *Cæsar*, however, at his return, winked at his faults, and embarking at *Brundusium*, sailed with a few troops over the *Ionian* sea, and then sent back his fleet with orders to *Gabinius* and *Antony*, to sail with the army

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as soon as possible to *Macedonia*. This *Antony* effected in spite of the enemy's fleet, which lay at the mouth of the haven of *Brundusium*, and a great number of *Pompey's* ships being soon after cast on the rocks by a storm, he made his advantage of this disaster, by taking many prisoners and a considerable booty. He also made himself master of the city of *Lissus*, and by his seasonable arrival with a great reinforcement revived the hopes of *Cæsar*.

Of the many battles that were fought, there was none in which *Antony* did not signalize himself: twice he stopped the army in its flight, led back the troops to the charge, and gained the victory: thus next to *Cæsar*, he obtained the greatest reputation of any person in the army. *Cæsar's* opinion of him plainly appeared at the decisive battle of *Pharsalia*, where he led the right wing, and committed the charge of the left to *Antony*. *Cæsar* being created dictator after the victory, sent *Antony* to *Rome*, with the post of general of the horse, while he himself went in pursuit of *Pompey*.

Antony, on his return, opposed *Dolabella*, who proposed a law for abolishing all debts, and being jealous of him, divorced his wife, and soon after married *Fulvia*, the widow of the seditious *Clodius*, a woman who had a spirit fit to govern a prince, and direct the leader of an army: so that *Cleopatra* was afterwards highly obliged to her for teaching *Antony* to be submissive to female authority; for he now went through such a course of discipline;

cipline, as rendered him perfectly tame and tractable.

After *Cæsar's* return to *Rome*, *Antony* distinguished himself by attempting several times to place a diadem on the head of *Cæsar*, intimating, that he ought to be declared king; but *Cæsar* observing that the people were displeased, was afraid to accept it. The diadem was at last placed on the head of one of his statues; but the tribunes, to the great satisfaction of the people, took it off: this was, however, so resented by *Cæsar*, that he turned them out of their office.

At length *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with the most faithful of their friends, having entered into the conspiracy to kill *Cæsar*, it was proposed to admit *Antony* among them. This was approved by every one except *Trebonius*, who told them, that *Antony* and he lodged together, in a late journey they took to meet *Cæsar*; and that he had let fall several hints in order to found him, and though *Antony* understood him, he could perceive that he did not approve the design. The conspirators then proposed that *Antony* should be killed with *Cæsar*; but to this *Brutus* would not consent; for he thought, that an action undertaken in defence of justice and the laws, ought to be free from the least appearance of tyranny and injustice.

When *Cæsar* was slain, *Antony* put on a servant's habit, and concealed himself; but hearing that the conspirators had assembled in the capitol, and had no design to injure any other person, he persuaded them to come

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down, and gave his son as an hostage; and that night *Brutus* supped with *Lepidus*, and *Cassius* with *Antony*. The next day the senate being assembled, he proposed that an act of oblivion should be passed, and provinces assigned to *Brutus* and *Cassius*. To this the senate agreed, and *Antony* left the senate-house, highly esteemed for the part he had acted in having taken away all ground for a civil war. But he soon abandoned this wise and moderate conduct, from the opinion, that if he could but supplant *Brutus*, he should soon be the first man in the state. Therefore when the body of *Cæsar* was exposed in the Forum, he pronounced his funeral oration; when perceiving that the people were deeply affected with what he had said in *Cæsar's* praise, he endeavoured to heighten their compassion, by enlarging on every circumstance of that tragical event. He even took the robe from off the dead body, held it up, and shewing it stained with blood, and pierced through in many places, called the perpetrators of this deed villains and murderers. His oration had such an effect, that the multitude, unwilling to defer the solemnities of the funeral, took the tables and forms that were in the Forum, and having with these raised his funeral pile, set fire to it; after which, every one taking a brand, ran in the greatest fury to burn the houses of the conspirators.

Brutus and his whole party now left the city. *Cæsar's* friends joined with *Antony* and

and *Calphurnia*, the wife of *Cæsar*, entrusted him with almost all her treasure; he also got the possession of all *Cæsar*'s papers: of which he made great use; for by inserting in them whatever he pleased, he made some of his friends senators, recalled others from exile, and set others who were imprisoned at liberty; all the while pretending to execute only the orders of *Cæsar*. His power, in short, was absolute, for he himself was consul, and of his two brothers *Caius* and *Lucius*, the first was prætor, and the last tribune of the people.

Affairs were in this situation, when *Octavius*, who was the son of *Julius Cæsar*'s niece, and was by his will left his heir, arrived at *Rome*, and immediately visited *Antony*, as *Julius Cæsar*'s friend, asking him for the money he had received from *Calphurnia*, and reminding him of the legacy *Cæsar* had left to every *Roman* citizen. *Antony*, at first, endeavoured, by treating him with contempt, to prevent his assuming the office of *Cæsar*'s executor, and, on his continuing to insist on having the money, took all occasions to mortify and affront him. *Octavius*, however, applied to *Cicero* and the rest of *Antony*'s enemies, courted the people, drew all the veteran soldiers out of their quarters, and, at last, persuaded the senate to declare *Antony* an enemy to the public. At the same time, the consuls *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were sent to drive him out of *Italy*. A battle was fought near *Modena*, at which *Octavius* was present,

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present, and *Antony* was defeated, though both the consuls were slain. In his flight, he was reduced to the greatest distress by famine; and, on this occasion, gave an illustrious example of patience; for, though accustomed to a life of luxury, he was contented to drink stinking water, and to feed upon roots and wild fruit.

He went to join *Lepidus*, who commanded an army on the other side of the *Alps*, and whom he had frequently obliged: but, receiving no encouragement from him, he came with his hair uncombed, and in a mourning mantle, near the trenches of *Lepidus*, and began a speech to the army, when the soldiers seeming greatly affected, *Lepidus* ordered the trumpets to sound, to prevent his being heard; on which the soldiers secretly sent to advise him to attack the trenches. He set out for that purpose the next day; but was received by the soldiers into the camp, when, finding himself absolute master of it, he treated *Lepidus* with great civility, and, though he had every thing at his own command, allowed him the title and all the honours due to a general: which had such an effect, that *Minutius Plancus*, who was encamped with a considerable force at a small distance, came and joined him. Thus being at the head of a great army, *Antony* marched back into *Italy*.

Octavius now making proposals of an accommodation, *Antony* and *Lepidus* met him in a small

a small island * in a river, where they divided the empire of the world between them. The only difficulty was to determine, who should be put to death, each being desirous of destroying his enemies, and saving his friends: but, at last, *Cæsar* sacrificed *Cicero* to *Antony*, *Antony* his uncle *Lucius* to *Cæsar*, and both of them readily granted *Lepidus*, the libert, of murdering *Paulus*, his own brother: though some say they required it of him. After this, they made a list of 300 persons, who were also to suffer death. Nothing could be more barbarous than such an exchange of blood for blood; each was the murderer, not only of those given up by the other two, but of those whom he abandoned to their rage; and thus, by murdering them against whom they felt no resentment, they were more cruel and unjust to their friends than to their enemies. To strengthen this confederacy, it was resolved, that *Octavius* should marry *Claudia*, the daughter of *Fulvia*, *Antony*'s wife.

When *Cicero* was killed, he ordered his head, and his right hand, with which he had written against him, to be cut off, and when they were brought him, he laughed for joy at the sight, and, having satiated himself with viewing them, ordered them to be fixed upon the Rostrum. His uncle *Lucius*, being closely pursued, took refuge in his

* This island is in the river *Renus*, about two miles from *Bologna*.

sister's house ; but the assassins broke in, and were entering her chamber, when, meeting them at the door, she cried, " Ye shall never kill *Lucius*, till you have killed the mother of your general." By this means she saved her brother.

Antony now returned to his former dissolute life. He lived in the house of *Pompey* the great, and the people could not, without indignation, see the doors of that house shut against generals, magistrates and ambassadors, while they were open to players, jugglers, and drunken flatterers, upon whom *Antony* squandered the immense sums he now acquired by acts of violence.

After the battle that proved fatal to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Antony* made a progress thro' the provinces of *Asia*, where he raised contributions, and then passed at the head of a formidable army into *Greece*. He there, at first amused himself by listening to the disputes of the learned ; in seeing their sports, and attending to their religious ceremonies ; he decided disputes with equity, and took a pleasure in being styled, *The lover of Greece*, and especially in being called, *The lover of Athens* : but he soon gave a loose to his passions, and returned to his former dissolute course of life, and then a harper, a performer on the flute, a dancer, and a set of *Asiatic* comedians, were admitted into his court, where they obtained the chief credit. When he entered *Ephesus*, the women met him dressed like the priestesses of *Bacchus* ; the men

men and boys appeared in the form of satyrs and fawns, and nothing was to be seen throughout the town but spears wreathed round with ivy, harps, pipes, and flutes, while *Antony* was saluted in their songs by the name of *Bacchus the gracious and the gentle*. He was indeed gracious to some; but for the most part, he rather deserved the title of *Bacchus the cruel and severe*; for he deprived persons of noble birth of their fortunes to gratify flatterers and villains, who sometimes begged the estates of men yet living, pretending they were dead, and obtaining a grant, took possession of them. At length, his love of *Cleopatra* awakened many dormant vices, and if he had any spark of virtue yet remaining, stifled it entirely.

Upon his first entering on his expedition against the *Parthians* he sent *Dellius* to order *Cleopatra* to meet him in *Cilicia*, to answer some accusations brought against her. But *Dellius* no sooner saw, and conversed with her, than admiring her beauty, wit, and address, he imagined that she would have a great influence over *Antony*, and therefore studied to recommend himself to her favour.

Cleopatra, partly convinced by *Dellius*'s discourse, and partly depending on her own beauty, which had captivated *Julius Cæsar*, and young *Pompey*, did not doubt of making an easy conquest of *Antony*; for, when they knew her, she was young and unexperienced, but she was now at an age when her beauty and understanding were at their full maturity.

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She sailed up the *Cydnus* in a galley which had its stern covered with gold, the sails were of purple, and it had silver oars, which kept time to the music of harps, flutes, and pipes. She had copied her dress from the statues and pictures of *Venus*, and lay reclined under a canopy embroidered with gold; while some young boys, representing *Cupids*, stood fanning her on each side: her maids, who were exceeding beautiful, were dressed to represent the sea nymphs and the graces; some managed the rudder, and others worked at the ropes. A great quantity of rich perfumes was burnt on board the vessel, and diffused their fragrance over the shore, which was covered with great multitudes that met and followed the galley. All the people ran out of the city to behold this uncommon spectacle, and at last *Antony* was left alone on the tribunal, and a rumour was spread that *Venus* was come to feast with *Bacchus* for the common god of *Asia*. On her landing, *Antony* sent to invite her to supper; but she returned the invitation, and he complied with her request. The preparations were magnificent beyond description; but nothing astonished him so much as the vast multitude of lights, which were suddenly let down all together, and so artfully disposed, that they had a surprising effect.

The following evening *Antony* invited her to supper, and was very ambitious of exceeding her in the magnificence of the entertainment; but he was so convinced that it was in-

ferior to her's, that he ridiculed the meanness of his banquet, and she herself joined in the raillery. It is said, that her beauty was not so surprizing as not to be equalled; but that being assisted by her wit, and a natural grace that appeared in every action, she captivated all who conversed with her. The sound of her voice was so sweet and melodious, that it gave inexpressible pleasure to all who heard her; and her tongue, like an instrument of many strings, had a vast compass and variety of sounds. She spoke many languages with surprizing facility, and answered but few of the barbarous nations by an interpreter, giving audience herself to the *Arabians, Syrians, Hebrews, Medes, Parthians, Æthiopians, and Troglodites.*

Antony was so deeply in love with *Cleopatra*, that he went with her to *Alexandria*, where he gave himself up to idle sports and diversions, riot and luxury. They formed a society, which they termed *the inimitable lovers*, and treated one another at an incredible and boundless expence, while *Cleopatra* continually invented some new amusement: she was with him day and night; played at dice with him, drank with him; hunted with him; and, when he exercised his troops, always stood by his side. He went one day to angle with her, when being much vexed at catching nothing in the presence of his mis-tres, he gave secret orders to the fishermen to dive under water, and put fishes fresh taken on his hook. He had drawn up two or three fishes, when *Cleopatra* perceiving the trick,

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trick, pretended to be much surprized at his dexterity and good fortune, and telling it to all her friends, invited them to see him fish the next day. A very large company then went out in the fishing vessels ; and, as soon as *Antony* had thrown in his line, she ordered one of her own servants to be before hand with *Antony*'s, and diving into the water, to fix upon his hook a salted fish brought from the *Euxine* sea. *Antony* perceived that he had the fish upon his hook, drew it up, and, as may be easily imagined, occasioned not a little laughter among the whole company : on which *Cleopatra* smiling, said, “ My dear “ general, leave the angle-rod to us princes “ of *Pharus* and *Canopus* ; thy game is cities, “ provinces, and kings.”

Mean while two messengers arrived ; from one of whom *Antony* learnt, that his brother *Lucius*, and *Fulvia* his wife, after many quarrels, had united against *Cæsar* ; but having lost all, were forced to fly from *Italy*. By the other he was informed, that *Labienus*, who was at the head of the *Parthian* army, had over-run *Asia*. But these important events could scarcely rouze him from his lethargy : at length, however, he marched against the *Parthians*, and proceeded as far as *Phœnicia* ; where, receiving a letter from *Fulvia*, he changed his course, and sailed with 200 ships to *Italy*. In his way, he received those of his friends who had fled from *Rome*, who informed him, that *Fulvia* had been the sole cause of the war, from the hopes that the

commotions in *Italy* would force him out of the arms of *Cleopatra*; but as she was coming to meet him, she fell sick by the way, and died at *Siryon*.

This facilitated an accommodation between *Antony* and *Octavius*, who being reconciled by means of their friends, agreed that *Antony* should have the eastern provinces; that the western should be possessed by *Octavius Cæsar*, and that *Africa* should be in the possession of *Lepidus*, and that each, in his turn, should make his friends consuls, when he did not chuse to take the office himself. To strengthen this agreement, *Octavius* gave his sister *Octavia*, a lady of extraordinary merit, and whom he tenderly loved, to *Antony*, and their nuptials were celebrated at *Rome*.

This treaty was no sooner settled, than *Antony* sent *Ventidius* to put a stop to the progress of the *Parthians*, while he, in compliment to *Octavius*, accepted the office of priest to *Julius Cæsar*, and in all the important affairs of government they behaved to each other with the utmost civility. At length *Antony*, leaving the affairs at home to *Octavius*, left *Italy*, and *Octavia*, who had been lately brought to bed of a daughter, accompanied him into *Greece*.

While *Antony* remained at *Athens*, he received the news that *Ventidius* had obtained three signal victories over the *Parthians*; afterwards *Sosius*, another of *Antony*'s lieutenants, performed many great exploits in *Syria*; and *Canidius*, whom he had left in *Armenia*,

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* *Naples.*
† *Naples.*

menia, subdued the whole country, and after defeating the kings of *Albania* and *Iberia*, penetrated with his victorious army as far as Mount *Caucasus*.

At length *Antony*, being incensed against *Octavius Cæsar*, by hearing some reports relating to him, set sail for *Italy*, with a fleet consisting of 300 ships, and being refused an entrance into the port of *Brundusium**, he sailed to *Tarentum* †, where *Octavia*, who came with him from *Greece*, and was then big with her third child, prevailed on him to let her go to her brother. She met *Octavius* in her journey, and in the presence of his two friends *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa*, earnestly conjured him to consider her circumstances, and not to suffer her to become the most unfortunate of women. “ The eyes of the whole world, said she, are now fixed upon me, on account of the relation I stand in to the two chiefs of the *Roman* empire, from my being the wife of the one, and the sister of the other. If war, the effect of rash counsels ensues, the event with respect to you both must be uncertain; but on whatsoever side victory falls, I am sure of being miserable.” *Octavius*, softened by these words, marched to *Tarentum*; and all were

* Now called *Brindisi*, in the kingdom of *Naples*.

† Now *Taranto*, also in the kingdom of *Naples*.

delighted at seeing so great an army drawn up on the shore, and so powerful a fleet in the harbour, while nothing but expressions of kindness and friendship passed between them. *Antony* first gave *Octavius* an entertainment, and at length they agreed, that *Octavius* should give him two of his legions to serve him in the *Parthian* war; and that, in return, *Antony* should leave with him an hundred armed galleys. Besides, *Octavia* obtained of her brother a thousand foot for her husband; and of her husband, twenty light ships for her brother. After this reconciliation, *Antony* left his wife, and the children he had both by her and *Fulvia*, with her brother, and set sail for *Asia*.

The fatal passion *Antony* felt for *Cleopatra*, which seemed to have lain long dormant, on his approaching *Syria*, recovered its former strength; and, rejecting every consideration of virtue, honour, and interest, he sent *Fon-teius Capito* to conduct her thither. On her arrival, he welcomed her, by adding to her dominions *Phænicia*, *Cælosyria*, the isle of *Cyprus*, and a part of both *Judæa* and *Arabia Nabathæa*. This greatly offended the *Romans*; but he varnished it over by observing, that the greatness of the *Roman* empire appeared more in giving, than in conquering kingdoms.

Antony, some time after, sent *Cleopatra* back into *Egypt*, and, marching through *Arabia* and *Armenia*, entered *Parthia* with a great army;

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army; but, after suffering various losses, was obliged to retire with the disadvantage of being continually harassed by continual skirmishes, by which means he was frequently in danger of perishing with his whole army. Many were cut off by the enemy, and still greater numbers died by fatigue and famine. He himself shewed in this retreat the greatest conduct and resolution; and, raising the courage of his troops by his example and his speeches, brought them into Armenia, where he spent some time in refreshing his army. But, at length, impatiently longing to see *Cleopatra*, he marched with such haste, in the depth of winter, through continual storms of snow, that he lost 8000 of his men, and at last came, attended by a very small number, to *Leucosome*, which is situated between *Sidon* * and *Berytus* †, where she came to him, bringing with her cloaths and money for his soldiers.

In the mean time *Octavia*, who continued at *Rome*, was so desirous of seeing him, that she obtained permission from her brother to go to him. But, upon her arrival at *Athens*, she received letters from her husband, order-

* See a description of the present state of *Sidon*, in *The World Displayed*, vol. xi. p. 32, 33.

† Now called *Beroot*. The curious reader may see an account of the present state of this city in the above entertaining work, vol. xi. from p. 27 to 30.

ing her to wait there till he came to her. Though she was much displeased at this injunction, she sent to desire he would let her know, how he would have her dispose of what she had brought for him; for she had with her a great quantity of cloaths for his troops, a large sum of money, presents for his friends, and 2000 soldiers magnificently armed to recruit the prætorian cohorts.

Cleopatra being sensible that *Oætavia* came to contend with her for the affections of her husband, and, fearing lest the charms of *Oætavia*'s innocent conversation, added to her modesty and virtue, should prove too powerful for all her arts, she pretended to be mightily in love with *Antony*, and contrived that he should frequently find her in tears, pretending to dry them up in haste, as if she strove to conceal her grief. Her designs were seconded by some of her flatterers, who reproached him for his cruelty in forcing an unhappy lady to die for him: adding, it was true, *Oætavia* was married to him, because her brother's affairs rendered it necessary; thus she enjoyed the honourable title of wife, while *Cleopatra*, the sovereign of many nations, had only the title of his mistress, which she did not despise, while she might see his face, and live with him: but, that if she were deprived of this satisfaction, she could never survive her loss. By these artifices and representations *Antony* was so affected, that fearing she would kill

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herself, if he left her, he went with her to *Alexandria*.

Oktavia returning to *Rome*, her brother, offended at her injurious treatment, desired her to live with him; but she refused to leave her husband's house, and entreated him not to make war on *Antony* upon her account, since she would not have it said, that the two greatest commanders in the world had involved the *Roman* people in a civil war, the one for the love of his mistress, and the other on account of the jealousy of his sister. *Oktavia* shewed by her behaviour that these were her real sentiments; for she not only remained in her husband's house, but took the same care of the children he had by *Fulvia*, as of her own, giving them all an education suitable to their rank. She also gave a kind reception to all *Antony*'s friends whom he sent to *Rome* to sue for preferment, or on business, and used her interest with *Oktavius* on their behalf. But, by this generous conduct, she undesignedly drew on *Antony* the resentment of all mankind, for his ungenerous treatment of so excellent a wife.

This general resentment was encreased by *Antony*'s distributing kingdoms to his children at *Alexandria*. For assembling the people in the *Gymnasium*, and causing two golden seats to be placed on a tribunal of silver for himself and *Cleopatra*, and lower seats at their feet for her children; he first proclaimed *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*,

prus, Africa and Cæloſyria, joining with her Cæſario, her ſon by Julius Cæſar. He styled his own ſons by Cleopatra kings of kings; to Alexander, the eldest, he gave Media, Armenia, and all Parthia, when conquered; and to Ptolemy, Cilicia, Syria and Phœnicia. Alexander was dressed in the habit of the princes of Media and Armenia, wearing a tiara on his head, and Ptolemy wore a long robe and flipper, with a cap encompassed with a diadem, which was the habit worn by the successors of Alexander. Cleopatra was dressed, as was usual with her, when she appeared in public, in the habit of the goddeſs *Iſis*.

Cæſar related all these circumstances to the ſenate, and frequently accuſing Antony to the people, exasperated them againſt him; while Antony, on his ſide, was not backward in making recriminations, and, at length, prepared for war. He first ſent Canidius with fifteen legions towards the ſea, while he himſelf accompanied Cleopatra to Ephesuſ, where the fleet was ordered to assemble. It conſifted of 800 veſſels, including the tenders, Cleopatra furniſhing 200 ſhips of war, beſides 20,000 talents, and proviſions for the whole army during the war. Antony was adviſed to ſend her into Egypt. But ſhe apprehending, that a peace might be concluded by the mediation of Octavia, bribed Canidius to tell Antony, that it would be unjust for her, who bore ſo great a ſhare in the charge of the war, to be deprived of the glory of carrying it on. These and other arguments

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arguments induced *Antony* to comply with her request. Accordingly, joining their forces, they sailed to *Samos*, where they wasted their time in pleasure. For as it was ordered, that all kings, princes and governors, all nations and cities from *Syria* to the lake *Mæotis*, and from *Armenia* to *Illyria*, should bring or send preparations for the war; it was also proclaimed, that all singers, musicians, comedians and dancers should repair to *Samos*. Thus while almost all the rest of the world was in tears, that island resounded with the music of flutes and harps; the theatre was crowded with comedians and dancers, and the princes contended who should make the most magnificent entertainments, and the greatest presents. These festivals being ended, he sailed to *Athens*, where he again abandoned himself to pleasure, and to theatrical entertainments. *Cleopatra*, jealous of the honour *Oæavia* had received in that city, where she was much beloved, endeavoured to insinuate herself into the favour of the people, while they, in return, decreed her public honours. In the mean time, *Antony* sent some of his friends to *Rome*, to turn *Oæavia* out of his house. On her leaving it, it is said, she took with her all his children, except the eldest by *Fulvia*, who was with him, and that she burst into tears, from the consideration of her being one of the causes of the war.

Both parties having compleated their preparations, it appeared that *Antony* had no less than

than 500 ships of war, many of which had eight or ten ranks of oars, and were adorned in so splendid a manner, that they seemed merely designed for show. His land forces consisted of 100,000 foot, and 12,000 horse; he was assisted by many kings who were in subjection to him, while others, who did not serve in person, sent him large reinforcements. But *Octavius Cæsar* had only 250 ships of war, 8000 foot, and the same number of horse as *Antony*: but the latter was such a slave to *Cleopatra*, that, notwithstanding his being much superior to the enemy in land forces, yet, to please her, he consented to engage by sea, though he plainly saw that his navy was but ill supplied: for the want of mariners had obliged his captains, while in *Greece*, to press all they met, travellers, grooms, reapers, and even boys, and yet his vessels had not their complement. On the other hand, *Octavius*'s ships were not built for ostentation; but were light and nimble, well manned, and supplied with all necessary accommodations.

Antony having determined to engage by sea, set fire to all the *Egyptian* ships, except sixty; and manned the best of his gallies from three ranks of oars to ten, with 20,000 soldiers, and 2000 archers. *Antony* commanded the right wing, in conjunction with *Poplicola*, *Cælius* commanded the left, and *Marcus Octavius* and *Marcus Justus* the center. *Octavius Cæsar* gave *Agrrippa* the charge of the left wing, and he himself commanded

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the right. The land forces were drawn up on the shore, where they remained inactive, and were commanded by *Canidius* for *Antony*, and by *Taurus* for *Cæsar*.

Antony went from ship to ship in a small vessel, encouraging his soldiers, and exhorting them to stand firm, since the great bulk of the ships rendered them as steady as the land. He likewise commanded the masters of the ships to suffer their vessels to lie still, as if they were at anchor, and to keep within the entrance of the port of *Actium*. *Cæsar* having viewed *Antony*'s fleet, was surprised at seeing it continue motionless: but about noon a gale springing up from the sea, *Antony*'s soldiers grew impatient of delay, and trusting to the bulk and height of their ships, which they considered as impregnable fortresses, put the left wing in motion: which *Cæsar* observing, with great satisfaction, ordered his right wing to keep back, in order to draw the enemy as far out of the strait as possible, that his light vessels might have an opportunity of surrounding *Antony*'s heavy ships, which from their bulk, and the want of hands in proportion to their size, were sluggish and unfit for action.

When the battle began, there was no attempt to run the ships against each other; so that the engagement resembled a fight at land, or rather the attack of fortified places: for three or four of *Octavius*'s vessels surrounded one of *Antony*'s, assaulting the men with

javelins, pikes, and fiery darts. While *Antony*'s engines, as if placed on wooden towers, poured upon them all kinds of missive weapons. In the mean while *Agrippa*, extending his left wing in order to hem in the enemy, *Poplicola* extended his wing to prevent him; but this motion separated him from the main body, which was thus thrown into disorder. The victory, however, still remained doubtful; when *Cleopatra*'s sixty ships suddenly crowded their sails; and being placed behind those bulky ships put them into confusion, by forcing them to open and make way for them, and then steered towards *Peleponnesus*. *Antony* no sooner saw *Cleopatra*'s ship under sail, than abandoning every other consideration, he left those who were sacrificing their lives for his services, and steered after her. When she perceiving him following her, staid for him, and received him on board; but without taking the least notice of her, he sat down at the head of the ship, where he remained musing in silence, with his head resting on both his hands. For three days, he, either through anger, or shame, refused to see *Cleopatra*; but then arriving at *Tænarus*, their female attendants brought them to speak to each other, then to sit at the same table, and at last to lie together.

By this time several of *Antony*'s ships of burden, and some of his friends, who had escaped after the defeat, coming up, told him, that his fleet was quite destroyed, but that they believed his land-forces re-

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mained entire. Upon this, he sent orders to *Canidius* to march instantly through *Macedonia* into *Asia*; and being himself resolved to steer to *Africa*, he gave one of his ships, in which was a large sum of money, with vessels of gold and silver of great value to his friends, desiring them to share this treasure among them, and provide for their own safety; but they refusing it, burst into tears; when having endeavoured to comfort them, he wrote to *Theophilus*, his steward at *Corinth*, desiring him to keep them concealed, till they could make their peace with *Octavius*.

After *Antony's* flight, his fleet had made a brave defence, till at last having suffered much from a hard gale of wind, the ships were obliged to surrender: not more than 5000 men were slain in the whole action; but *Cæsar* had the good fortune to take 300 ships. Few had observed *Antony's* flight, and it at first seemed incredible to those who had not seen it; for they could scarcely believe, that a general who had nineteen legions, and 12,000 horse, could so basely desert them, especially as he had often experienced the strangest reverses of fortune. His soldiers passionately desiring to see him, fancied he would still appear, and gave the strongest testimony of their fidelity; for, even when they were convinced that he had really fled, they kept in a body seven days, without paying any regard to the solicitations of the ambassadors sent to them by *Cæsar*: but at last, when *Canidius*, their commander in chief,

chief, had fled from the camp by night, and their principal officers had abandoned them, they surrendered to the conqueror.

Antony, on his arrival in *Libya*, sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and retired into a melancholy desert, where he wandered about, attended by only two companions, *Aristocrates* the Greek rhetorician, and *Lucilius*, who, in order to favour *Brutus*'s escape after the battle of *Philippi*, had pretended that he was *Brutus*, and had suffered himself to be taken; and being saved by *Antony*, was so sensible of the obligation, that he remained with him to the last.

Antony hearing, at length, that the commanders of his troops in *Lybia* had gone over to *Cæsar*, he was so affected by this news, that he attempted to lay violent hands on himself, but was prevented by his friends, who conveyed him to *Alexandria*, where he found *Cleopatra* engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking. Between the *Red Sea* and the *Egyptian* is an isthmus that separates *Africa* from *Asia*, and in the narrowest part is about 300 furlongs over. *Cleopatra* had formed the design of causing her galleys to be drawn over this neck of land into the *Red-Sea*, desiring to take with her all her riches and forces, and to sail in search of some remote country, where she might live secure from war and slavery. But the first galleys conveyed over being burnt by the *Arabians*, and *Antony* not knowing that his army before *Actium* was dispersed, she desisted from her

her enterprize, and gave orders for fortifying all the avenues of her kingdom. But *Antony* leaving *Alexandria*, built a house near *Pharus*, on a small mount which he raised in the sea, and there secluding himself from all conversation with mankind, resolved to imitate the life of *Timon*; for having like him met with ingratitude from those on whom he had conferred the highest obligations, he resolved to hate and distrust all mankind.

Antony received the news of the loss of the army near *Actium* from *Canidius* himself; and, at the same time, learnt from other hands, that *Herod* king of *Judæa*, who had some troops under his command, had declared for *Cæsar*; that the other kings and princes had done so too, and that he was deserted by all, except those that were near his person. Now quitting all hope, in order to banish care, he left his house which he named *Timonium*, and returned to *Cleopatra*'s palace. The whole city was instantly immersed in pleasure; for *Cleopatra*'s son by *Julius Cæsar*, was now registered among the young men, and at the same time he gave his eldest son by *Fulvia*, the manly gown; and on account of these ceremonies, the city, for many days, was filled with entertainments, and all kinds of amusement. *Antony* and *Cleopatra* now dissolved the society of *inimitable* lovers, and instituted another, which they termed *the companions in death*. Their friends entering into this society, spent their time in luxurious repasts, treating each other by turns. In the

mean while *Cleopatra* made a curious collection of poisonous drugs, and desiring to know which was least painful in the operation, she ordered them to be tried on persons condemned to die: but finding that the poisons which had a quick effect, produced violent pains and convulsions, and that the milder were very slow in their operation, she caused various kinds of venomous creatures to be applied to different persons in her presence. This was her daily employment; the result of which was, her finding that nothing equalled the bite of the asp, which brought on death, with no other pain but heaviness, a desire to sleep, and a gradual stupefaction of all the senses.

Both *Antony* and *Cleopatra* sent ambassadors to *Cæsar*, who was in *Asia*: the former desired that he might be allowed to live as a private man in *Egypt*; or, if that was too great a favour, that he might retire to *Athens*; and *Cleopatra* petitioned that her children might reign in *Egypt*. *Cæsar*, however, rejected *Antony*'s petition; and sent word to *Cleopatra*, that she might expect every favour from him, on condition of her putting *Antony* to death, or banishing him from her dominions. At the same time he sent to her *Thyreus*, one of his freedmen, and a person of considerable abilities, who receiving audiences that were longer and more frequent than usual, *Antony* became jealous of him, and ordered him to be whipped, and sent back to his master; but observed, in a letter to

Octa.

Otavius, that his insolent behaviour had provoked him at a time when his calamities had rendered him prone to anger. Adding, “ If you are offended at what I have done, “ you have in your power *Hipparchus*, one “ of my freedmen, whom you may use in “ the same manner, and then we shall be “ upon equal terms.”

Cleopatra, in order to atone for her indiscretion, and to cure *Antony*’s jealousy, from this time behaved towards him with the utmost tenderness and respect: her birth-day she kept in a manner suitable to their deplorable circumstances: but his was observed with great splendor and magnificence, and many of the guests who sat down poor, went home wealthy.

The winter being over, *Cæsar* marched against *Antony* by the way of *Syria*, and his lieutenants through *Africa*. In the mean time *Cleopatra*, who had built a magnificent monument of an extraordinary height, adjoining to the temple of *Ihs*, deposited in it her treasure, consisting of gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, with a great quantity of flax, and a number of torches. *Otavius* was afraid, that, in a fit of desperation, she would set fire to this immense wealth, and therefore daily sent messengers to flatter her with the hopes of receiving from him the most honourable treatment, and, in the mean while, hastened with his army towards the city.

Upon

Upon his arrival, he encamped near the Hippodrome; but *Antony* making a fierce sally, defeated the horse, and drove them back to their trenches. Then returning with great satisfaction to the palace, he met *Cleopatra*, and kissing her, armed as he was, recommended to her favour a soldier who had just distinguished himself by his bravery; on which she made him a present of a cuirass and a helmet of gold, which he had no sooner received, than he went and surrendered himself to *Octavius*. After this, *Antony* offered to fight *Octavius* in single combat; but he answered, *That Antony might find several other ways to end his life*. This proposal being rejected, *Antony* resolved to attack him at once both by sea and land. That night at supper, it is said, he ordered his servants to fill out his wine plentifully, because it was uncertain whether they would have it in their power to do it to-morrow; since they might then be the servants of a new master, and he lie a senseless corpse extended on the earth. At this his friends wept, which he no sooner observed, than he told them, he should not lead them out to fight with greater expectation of an honourable death, than of a glorious victory.

It was no sooner light, than he marched with his infantry out of the city, and posted them on a rising ground. There he observed his fleet row up to *Octavius Cæsar's*; and while he, with anxious solicitude, waited the event, he, to his great amazement, saw both fleets join, and row up towards the city. At the

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the same time he observed that his horse also deserted him, and surrendered themselves to Octavius. His foot being soon after defeated, he retired into the city, crying, *that Cleopatra had betrayed him to those he was fighting only for her sake.* She, dreading the effects of his rage and despair, fled to her monument, and securing it with bolts and bars, sent to inform *Antony* that she was dead. He not doubting its being true, cried, “Now, *Antony*, what business hast thou on “earth, since *Fate* has snatched away the “only object for which thou couldst desire “to live?” Then entering his chamber, and taking off his coat of mail, he said, “I “am not troubled, O *Cleopatra*! at thy loss; “for I shall soon be with thee; but I am “afflicted, that so great a commander as I “have been, should be inferior in magnanimity to a woman.” He had then with him *Eros*, a faithful servant, whom he had formerly engaged to kill him, whenever he should think it necessary; and now ordered him to perform his promise. *Eros* drew his sword, and then suddenly turning, slew himself, and fell at his master’s feet. “This, “*Eros*, cried *Antony*, was nobly done; since “thou hadst not the heart to kill thy master, “thou hast instructed him, by thy example, “what he ought to do;” then plunging the sword into his own bowels, he fell on a couch that stood by him. However, the blood soon stopping, he came by degrees to himself, and then entreated some who stood near

near him to put him out of his pain; but retiring from the chamber, they left him bewailing himself; but at last *Diomedes*, Cleopatra's secretary, came to bring him to his mistress in the monument.

Antony, on finding she was still alive, eagerly besought his servants to convey him to her; on which they carried him in their arms to the door of the monument. Cleopatra, however, would not open it, but looking out of a window, let down cords, to which *Antony* being fastened, she, and two of her women, who were all that were suffered to enter the monument, resolved to draw him up. No sight could be more moving. *Antony*, all covered with blood, was hoisted up into the air, where he continued a long time suspended, stretching out his hands to Cleopatra, who exerted all the strength of her arms, and strained every feature of her face, with the violence of her efforts, while those who stood below seemed to animate her, and to share her toil.

The task was at last accomplished, when Cleopatra laying him on a bed, rent her cloaths, and hanging over him, smote her breast with great violence: then wiping the blood from his face, called him, *her lord! her husband! her emperor!* seeming to lose all remembrance of her own unhappy situation in the consideration of his. *Antony*, having endeavoured to comfort her, asked for some wine; and when he had drank, advised her to consult her own safety, as far as was consistent



M. ANTONY and CLEOPATRA.

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fiscent with her honour; telling her, that she ought not to pity him for this turn of fortune, but rather to rejoice in the remembrance of his past happiness, since he had been of all men the most illustrious and powerful, and now fell not ingloriously; for, as he was a *Roman*, he was only conquered by a *Roman*.

When *Antony* was just expiring, *Proculeius* arrived from *Octavius*; for one of his guards had taken up his sword stained with blood, and had carried it to *Octavius* with the first account of his death; who no sooner heard the news, than he retired into the inner part of his tent, and shed some tears in remembrance of his colleague, who had been his companion in so many battles, and in the management of such important affairs. Then taking the copies of the letters he had wrote to *Antony*, and the answers he had received from him, he assembled his friends, and read them, to shew with what equity and moderation he had always treated him, and what arrogant answers he had received in return. He then sent *Proculeius* to use his utmost endeavours to get *Cleopatra* alive into his power, from the fear of losing great part of her treasures; and, in particular, that princess herself, who would be the most glorious ornament of his triumph. But she would not give him admission into the monument: she suffered him to stand without the gate, and she herself being on the inside, conferred with him through some crevices, and desired that her kingdom might be given to her children:

THE LIFE OF

dren: in return, he persuaded her to banish her fears, and cheerfully commit her affairs to *Cæsar*. He then returned, and *Gallus* was sent to confer with her a second time: but while they were talking, *Proculeius* fixed scaling ladders to the wall, and entered in at the window through which she had drawn up *Antony*, and being followed by two servants, instantly went down to the door, where *Cleopatra* was discoursing with *Gallus*. One of her women then crying, “O wretched *Cleopatra*! thou art taken!” She hastily turned, and seeing *Proculeius*, attempted to stab herself with a dagger that hung at her girdle. But running up to her, and seizing her, he said, “*Cleopatra*, you wrong both yourself and *Cæsar*, by attempting to deprive him of so fair an opportunity of shewing his clemency, and by considering the most mild and generous of men as perfidious and implacable.” In the mean time he forced the dagger from her, and examined her robe, to see if she had no concealed poison.

Cæsar soon after made his entry into *Alexandria*, holding *Areus* the philosopher by the hand, and talking with him as he walk'd along. Being come into the Gymnasium, he mounted a tribunal prepared for that purpose: from whence he ordered the people, who, filled with the greatest consternation, lay prostrate at his feet, to arise, and told them, that he forgave all the people of *Alexandria*; first, for the sake of *Alexander*, its founder: secondly,

condly, for the magnitudine admired *Areus*. *Fulvia*, tutor, were cut tutor stol. wore about his girdle; his children, allowed *Cæsario*, *Julius Caesar* with a *Rhodon*, *Octavius* duced him after the

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condly, for the sake of the city itself, the magnitude and beauty of which he greatly admired; and thirdly, to gratify his friend *Areus*. Yet *Antyllus*, *Antony's* eldest son by *Fulvia*, being betrayed by *Theodorus*, his tutor, was put to death. While the soldiers were cutting off his head, this treacherous tutor stole a jewel of great value, which he wore about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle; and it being afterwards found upon him, he was crucified. As to *Cleopatra's* children, *Cæsar* set a guard over them, but allowed them an honourable maintenance. *Cæsario*, who is said to have been the son of *Julius Cæsar*, had been sent by his mother with a large sum of money into *India*; but *Rhodon*, his governor, persuading him that *Octavius* would make him king of *Egypt*, induced him to return, and he lost his life soon after the death of *Cleopatra*.

Many kings petitioned *Octavius* to allow them to bury the body of *Antony*; but he would not take it from *Cleopatra*, who interred it with the greatest splendor and magnificence. The excess of her grief, and the pain she felt in her breast from the blows she had given herself in the transports of her sorrow, threw her into a fever. She now rejoiced at having a pretence to abstain from food, and hoped thus, without interruption, to put a period to her life: but *Octavius* suspecting her design, threatened to treat her children with severity; and thus subduing her

resolution, she patiently took whatever food or physic was given her.

Soon after *O>avius* himself paid her a visit. He found her lying on a couch, dressed only in a single tunic; but yet she no sooner beheld him, than she arofe, and threw herself at his feet. Her face was disfigured, her eyes sunk, her hair in disorder, and her bosom covered with bruises. And yet that grace, that spirit and vivacity, which had peculiarly enlivened her beauty, was not entirely extinguished. *O>avius* having obliged her to return to her couch, seated himself by her, and then, with a trembling voice, she attempted to justify herself, by pleading her fear of *Antony*: but *O>avius* confuting all her arguments, she endeavoured to excite his compassion by her prayers and tears; and at the same time gave him an account of her treasures: but *Seleucus*, one of her treasurers, being present, and accusing her of concealing some things of value, she started from the couch, caught him by the hair, and gave him several blows on the face. *O>avius* smiled at this transport, and striving to pacify her, “ *Cæsar*, said she, is it not very hard, “ that when, in this my wretched condition, “ thou honourest me with a visit, I should be “ affronted by my own servant? If I have “ laid by any female toys, they were not de- “ signed, in this my miserable fortune, as “ ornaments to myself, but as trifling pre- “ sents to *O>avia* and *Livia*, that, by their “ intercession, I might render thee more fa- “ vorable.”

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“ vorable.” *Octavius*, pleased at hearing her talk as if she was desirous of life, told her, that what she had laid by, she might dispose of as she pleased ; and that he would treat her in a more honourable manner than she expected.

Cleopatra, however, soon heard that *Octavius* was going to return into *Syria* ; and that she and her children were to be sent away in three days. Upon this she sent to desire him to let her pay her last oblations to *Antony* ; which being granted, she caused herself to be carried to his tomb, and both she and her women falling on their knees, she spoke to this purpose : “ My dearest *Antony*, lately with these “ hands I buried thee ; they were then free ; “ now I am a prisoner, and pay thee these “ honours attended by a guard, lest in the “ transports of my grief, I should disfigure “ this captive body, which is reserved to ap- “ pear in the triumph over thee.” But may “ the gods of *Rome* ; (for our’s have forsaken “ us) not suffer me to be abandoned while I “ have life ! let me not, to thy shame, be “ led in triumph, but hide me with thee in “ thy grave !” She then adorned the tomb with garlands of flowers, kissed it, and ordered her bath to be prepared. After she had bathed, she sat down to supper, and partook of a magnificent repast ; which was no sooner over, than a country fellow brought her a little basket : when the guards asking what it contained, he put aside the leaves which lay at the top, and shewed them it was

full of figs ; and, as they admired their largeness and beauty, he smiling, invited them to taste some, which they refused, and having no suspicion, bid him carry them in. *Cleopatra* now sent a letter to *Cæsar*, and obliging every one to quit the monument, except two women, fastened the doors. *Cæsar* instantly opened the letter, and finding that it contained her earnest request to be interred in the same tomb with *Antony*, guessed her design, and sent some persons to see how affairs stood ; but though they ran all the way, the guards, who were surprized at their apprehensions, had no sooner broke open the doors, than they found her dead, and lying on her bed of gold, dressed in all her royal ornaments. *Iras*, one of her women, lay without life at her feet ; and *Charmium*, the other, staggering, and just ready to fall, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. One of the persons who entered the room, saying angrily, *Was this well done, Charmium ?* she replied, *Extremely well, and becoming a descendant from such a race of kings*, and then instantly fell down dead by the side of the bed.

Some have observed, that an asp was brought in among the figs already mentioned ; and that, on *Cleopatra's* removing the leaves, she saw it, and saying, *This is what I wanted*, held out her arm to it ; and others assert, that she had two small marks in her arm caused by the sting of an asp : hence her statue was

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carried in triumph, with an asp fixed to the arm.

Though her death was a great disappointment to *Oetavius*, he gave orders for burying her body in *Antony's* tomb, with all the ceremonies and magnificence due to her quality; and her women were also interred with great splendor. *Cleopatra* died at thirty-nine years of age, after she had reigned thirty-two, and the last fourteen jointly with *Antony*. Some say, that the latter died at fifty-three years of age, and others say at fifty-six *. His statues were all demolished, but those of *Cleopatra* remained uninjured; for *Archibius*, her friend, gave *Oetavius* a thousand talents to prevent their being destroyed.

In comparing *Demetrius* with *Antony*, we find that the power of the former was acquired by *Antigonus*, his father, the most potent of all the successors of *Alexander*; while *Antony*, merely by taking advantage of the labours and death of *Cæsar*, rendered himself one of his successors, and merely by the strength of his own abilities, soared to such a pitch, that when the whole *Roman* empire became divided into two shares, he laid claim to the richest and most valuable.

On examining their motives in the pursuit of empire, we find that *Demetrius* endeavoured to rule over people inured to subjection, and

* These tragical events happened about thirty years before the birth of our Saviour.

fond of monarchy, while *Antony* was so unjust as to enslave the *Romans*, when they had recovered their liberty by the death of *Cæsar*. The most remarkable of all his exploits, was the war he undertook against *Brutus* and *Cæsarius*, in order to destroy the freedom of his fellow-citizens and of his country. But *Demetrius*, till crushed by his last calamities, laboured to restore the liberty of the *Grecians*, by clearing the cities of the garrisons by which they were held in subjection. How different in this respect was *Antony*, who gloried in his having destroyed in *Macedonia*, those patriots who had restored liberty to *Rome*!

Demetrius's behaviour towards his parents and relations was unexceptionable; but *Antony* sacrificed his mother's own brother, in order to procure the death of *Cicero*; an action so execrable, that he would hardly have been excused, though by *Cicero*'s death he had saved his uncle.

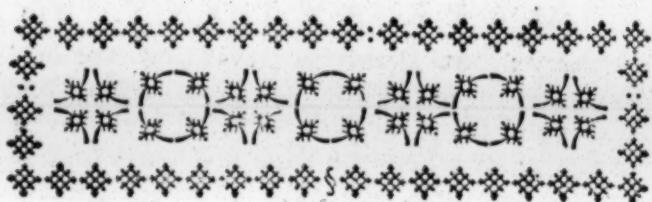
Antony was, however, highly celebrated for his liberality, and the magnificence of his presents: but even in this was *Demetrius* so much his superior, that he bestowed more on his enemies, than *Antony* on his friends. The latter was applauded for ordering *Brutus* to be honourably interred: but *Demetrius* caused all his enemies that were slain to be buried, and sent back his prisoners loaded with presents to *Ptolemy*.

Both made an ill use of their good fortune and plunged themselves into luxury and debauchery;

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bauchery ; but *Demetrius* never lost the opportunity of performing a great action for the sake of his pleasures ; nor had recourse to lewdness but when the time lay heavy on his hands ; he then, indeed, indulged himself with his mistress *Lamia*, who, like the imaginary *Lamia* in the fable, lulled him asleep : but when he prepared for war, his lance was not encircled with ivy, his helmet did not smell of perfumes, nor did he come like *Antony*, soft and effeminate from the chamber of wantonness to march to battle ; but putting a stop to his *Bacchanalian* revels, he instantly, to use the words of *Euripides*, “join-
“ed-in the train of sanguinary *Mars*.” He never was defeated through his indolence and love of pleasure. This was not the case with *Antony*, who was often stripped of his armour by *Cleopatra*, who melting him with her caresses, made him suffer many important occasions to slip out of his hands, and at last, for the sake of following her, left not only his ships when engaged, but a powerful army on shore, and fled from victory.





THE
L I F E
O F
DEMOSTHENES.

DEMOS *THENE S*, the orator, was
the son of a wealthy sword-cutler
of *Athens* * ; but his father dying
when he was but seven years of
age, possessed of near fifteen ta-
lents †, he had the misfortune to fall into the
hands of sordid and avaritious guardians,
who embezzled a part of his fortune ; for
which reason he did not receive so liberal an
education as his excellent genius required ;

* He was born 381 years before the Christian
æra, and 280 before *Cicero*.

† About 140,000 crowns.

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besides the weakness and delicacy of his constitution, with the excessive fondness of his mother, hindered his masters from obliging him to use great application in his studies.

His eager inclination to oratory began on the following occasion. The orator *Callistratus* being appointed to plead the cause of the city *Oropus**, the reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiosity, and made much noise: *Demosthenes* therefore, having heard the schoolmasters agree among themselves to be present at the trial, persuaded his tutor to take him with him. After much importunity he complied, and having some acquaintance with the door-keepers, procured him a place, where he might hear what was said without being seen. The orator was listened to with great attention; and having had extraordinary success, was attended home by a multitude of citizens, who seemed to vie with each other in the praises they bestowed on him. The youth †

* *Oropus* was a town on the frontiers of *Attica* and *Bœotia*, and thus became the subject of debate: *Chabrias* having prevailed on the *Athenians* to march to the assistance of the *Thebans*, who were in great distress, they hastened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. But the *Thebans* forgetting this service, took *Oropus* from the *Athenians*, and *Chabrias* himself was charged with being an accomplice.

† He was then but sixteen years of age.

was

was extremely affected with the honours paid to *Callistratus*, and still more with the power of eloquence, which exercises a kind of absolute authority over the minds of men. He himself felt its effects, and being now unable to resist its charms, gave himself up entirely to it, and renouncing all other studies, began assiduously to exercise himself in declaiming, as if he intended to become an orator. He made use of *Iseus* as his tutor in eloquence, though *Iocrates* then kept school at *Athens*. This might be owing either to his being unable to pay the usual salary demanded by *Iocrates*, which was ten minæ*, or to his preferring the more nervous oratory of *Iseus*. According to *Hermippus*, he was also the scholar of *Plato*, who assisted him in the study of eloquence; and, it is said, that he was likewise secretly instructed by *Callias* of *Syracuse* in the precepts of *Iocrates* and *Alcidamas*.

He was no sooner of age than he went to law with his guardians, and made the first essay of his eloquence against them; when, though they used many subterfuges and arts to prolong the suit, he at last gained his cause, though he could not recover any considerable part of his fortune. At length he ventured to speak in a popular assembly; but met with very ill success. He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, accompanied with stammering; and his breath was so short, and his periods so long, that he was

* About 221 10 s.

often obliged to stop for respiration in the middle of a sentence. This occasioned his being hissed and interrupted by the clamours of the people; on which he left the audience entirely disengaged, and resolved for ever to renounce the profession of oratory, for which he thought himself incapable. But, as he was one day walking about the *Piræus*, extremely dejected, *Eumenes*, a very old man, upbraided him with having a kind of eloquence resembling that of *Pericles*, and yet, through sloth, neglecting to cure his defects.

He therefore ventured to appear again before the people; but being no better received than before, he withdrew, hanging down his head and muffling up his face to hide his confusion. In this situation of mind he was accosted by *Satyrus*, an excellent actor, with whom he was acquainted; and who, entering into discourse, learnt from him the cause of his dejection. *Satyrus* assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and only desired him to repeat some speech out of *Sophocles* or *Euripides*; which he accordingly did: but *Satyrus* repeating it after him, gave it such graces, by the modulations of his voice, and the spirit and action with which he pronounced it, that *Demosthenes* found it very different from what it appeared when uttered by himself, and plainly perceiving what he wanted, applied himself to acquire it.

The

The pains he took to correct his defects in pronunciation seem almost incredible, and shew, that an industrious perseverance can surmount every thing. His inarticulate and stammering pronunciation he cured, and rendered distinct by uttering verses and orations with pebbles in his mouth, and that when walking, or running up steep places*. He likewise caused to be built a study under ground, which is still remaining, whither he came to exercise his voice, and would sometimes continue there two or three months together, shaving one half of his head, that shame might prevent his going out. Nor was this all: he rendered his conversation with people abroad, and the common intercourse of life, subservient to his studies. For he no sooner parted from his company, than he immediately entered his study; and recollecting every thing in order as it passed, drew up the reasons and arguments that might be brought on each side. Besides, he would recollect the orations he heard, write them down, and correct and vary many different ways, whatever others spoke to him,

* *Quintilian* observes, that he went also to the sea-side, and while the waves were in the most violent agitation, pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of public assemblies. *Lib. x. cap. 3.*

or he to them; in order to obtain a greater fluency, and more copious manner of expression. He took no less care of his action than of his voice and elocution; for he had a large mirror, before which he would stand and repeat his declamations.*

It is said, that a man coming to ask his assistance in a prosecution, coolly related at large the blows he had received from his adversary: on which *Demosthenes* answered, *Surely, thou hast suffered nothing of all this.* When the man railing his voice, cried aloud,

* To correct an ill habit of continually shrugging up his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit, over which hung an halberd, in such a manner, that if, in the heat of his discourse and action, that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at once to admonish and correct him. *Quintil. lib. xi. cap. 3.*

Cicero observes, that on his being asked three several times which quality he thought most necessary in an orator; he gave no other answer, than *pronunciation*, insinuating, by making that reply three times successively, that qualification to be the only one of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing defects; and that pronunciation could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the most excellent could not hope for the least success. *Cic. de Qras. III. n. 213. Rollin's Anc. Hist. vol. v.*

How, Demosthenes! have I suffered nothing? Now, returned he, I hear the voice of one who has been injured. Of such consequence towards gaining belief, did he esteem the tone and action of the speaker. His orations were composed with much severity and bitterness; but his sudden repartees were sometimes extremely facetious. Thus to a thief, whose name was *Calibus*, or *brazen*, who attempted to rally him for sitting up late, and writing by the light of his lamp, he said, *I know very well that my lamp troubles thee; but wonder not, O Athenians, at the many robberies that are committed, since we have thieves of brass, and walls of clay.*

He first entered upon public business about the time of the *Phocian* war. The cause he undertook in the commonwealth was a very glorious one, the defence of the *Grecians* against *Philip*; in which he acquitted himself so nobly, that he soon grew famous, and universally celebrated for his eloquence and courage in speaking. He became admired thro' all *Greece*, was courted by the king of *Perisia*, and was more esteemed than all the other orators by *Philip* himself*; so that his very enemies

* *Philip* himself acknowledges, that the eloquence of *Demosthenes* did him more hurt than all the fleets and armies of the *Corinthians*. He observed, that his orations resembled warlike machines and engines raised against him at a distance;

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enemies acknowledged him to be a man of distinguished worth and abilities. He adhered to the same generous principles as those

a distance ; and that by these he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprizes, without its being possible to prevent their effect.

“ For, I myself, says he, had I been present,
 “ and heard that vehement orator declaim,
 “ should have been the first who concluded that
 “ it was indispensably necessary to declare war
 “ against me.” To that prince no city seemed impregnable, provided he could introduce into it a mule laden with gold : but he confessed to his sorrow, that in this respect *Demosthenes* was invincible. *Antipater* spoke to the same purpose. “ I value not, said he, the *Piræus*, the gallies and armies of the *Athenians* ; for what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feasts, and Bacchanals ? *Demosthenes* alone gives me pain. Without him the *Athenians* differ in nothing from the meanest people of *Greece*. He alone excites and animates them : he rouzes them from their lethargy and stupefaction, and, almost against their will, puts arms and oars into their hands. Incessantly representing to them the famous battles of *Marathon* and *Salamis*, he, by the ardour of his discourses, transforms them into new men, inspiring them with incredible valour and fortitude.

those in which he at first engaged, and was so far from quitting them while he lived, that he at last rather chose to forfeit his life than to forsake them. Most of his orations, says *Panætius* the philosopher, are written as if his principal view was to prove, that virtue is to be chosen from its own intrinsic excellence; for, instead of persuading the citizens to pursue what appeared most pleasant, most easy, or most profitable, he frequently declares, that they ought to prefer what is just and honourable, before their own safety and preservation. None of the orators of his time treated the people with such freedom and boldness; for instead of sparing their faults, he strenuously opposed their unreasonable desires. Thus *Theopompus* observes, that the *Athenians* having appointed *Demosthenes* to accuse a certain person, he absolutely refused it; upon which the assembly being in an uproar, he rose up, and said, "Your counsellor, O *Athenians*, I will always be, whe-

" Nothing escapes his penetrating eye, nor his
 " consummate prudence: he foresees all our
 " designs, countermine all our projects, and
 " disconcerts us in every thing; and did *Athens*
 " entirely confide in him, and wholly follow
 " his advice, we should be ruined. Nothing
 " can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his
 " country. The gold of *Philip* finds no more
 " access to him, than that of *Persia* formerly did
 " to *Aristides*." *Lucian. in encom. Demost.*

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“ ther you will or no; but a false accuser I
“ will never be, though you would have me.”
Thus he disregarded the displeasure of the
people, when they acquitted *Antiphon*, for
he brought him before the court of *Areopagus* and convicted him of having promised
Philip to burn the arsenal, upon which he
was condemned by that court, and put to
death.

Before the war broke out, he constantly
censured the actions of *Philip*, and took all
occasions to enflame the *Athenians* against
him. This rendered him much talked of in
the court of *Philip*; and, when he was sent
as one of the ten ambassadors into *Macedonia*,
his speech was answered with the most care
and exactness. In other respects, however,
Philip did not entertain him so honourably,
nor treat him with such kindness as the rest;
and therefore, when the others praised that
prince for being an able speaker, and com-
mended him for the beauty of his person, and
even for being a great drinker, *Demosthenes*
could not forbear ridiculing those encomiums:
The first, said he, *is the quality of a rhetorician*,
the second of a woman, and *the last of a sponge*;
but none of them are the properties of a king.

At length the *Athenians* being animated by
Demosthenes, engaged in the reduction of *Eubœa*; which, by the treachery of its gover-
nors, had been brought under subjection to
Philip, and crossing over thither, drove out
the *Macedonians*. The *Byzantines* and *Perin-
thians*, being attacked by the *Macedonians*, he

persuaded the people to lay aside their enmity to those nations, and to forget the offences they had committed in the war of the allies: thus prevailing on the *Athenians* to march to their relief, he preseryed those people from being conquered. Soon after he went on an embassy to the states of *Greece*, whom he so animated by his solicitations, that he prevailed on most of them to unite against *Philip*. By the power of his oratory there was raised, besides the forces consisting of the inhabitants of the several cities, an army of 15,000 foot, and 2000 horse, and the money to pay these strangers was chearfully levied and brought in.

All *Greece* was now up in arms, and in great expectation of the event. The states and towns of the *Achæans*, the *Corinthians*, the *Eubœans*, the *Achæans*, the *Leucadians*, the *Megarians* and *Coreyræans*, were all entered into a league: but the most difficult task still remained; this was for *Demosthenes* to draw the *Thebans* into the confederacy. Their country bordered upon *Attica*; they had a great military force, and were then esteemed the best soldiers of all *Greece*. But it was no easy task to make them break with *Philip*, from whom they had received many good offices; besides, there had arisen frequent quarrels between them and the *Athenians*, from the nearness of their frontiers; and their animosity was continually renewed and enflamed by skirmishes on both sides. However, *Philip*, being elated with his suc-

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cess at *Amphissa*, suddenly surprized *Elataea*, and made himself master of *Phocis*: at this the *Athenians* were filled with consternation, and none daring to deliver his opinion, the whole assembly remained in profound silence; but *Demosthenes* stepping forth, advised them to apply to the *Thebans*, and having encouraged the people, and inspired them with better hopes, he, with some others, was sent ambassador to *Thebes*, and *Philip* sent his ambassadors to oppose them. The *Thebans* well knew what was agreeable to their own interest; but they had before their eyes the dreadful calamities of war, and the wounds they had received at *Phocis* were still fresh: but such was the force of *Demosthenes*'s eloquence, that rousing their courage, and inflaming them with the desire of glory, he rendered them deaf to every other consideration, and banishing from their minds all sentiments of fear and private obligation, filled them with an enthusiastic zeal for the public welfare.

The behaviour of *Demosthenes* on this occasion appeared so great and illustrious, that *Philip* immediately sent his heralds with proposals of peace *. The commanders in chief,

not

* *Philip*'s measures were disconcerted by the union of the two nations; therefore, in order to break the alliance, he sent to desire the *Athenians* not to take arms, but to live in friendship with him: their minds however were too justly alarmed

not only of Attica, but of Bœotia, now applied to *Demosthenes*, and followed his directions: he guided the assemblies both of the *Thebans* and the *Athenians*; and being beloved by both cities, had the same authority with both. But the destinies, who preside over the fluctuating affairs of men, having determined to put a period to the liberty of *Greece*, opposed and disconcerted all their measures. *Demosthenes* had such confidence in the *Grecian* forces, and was so elated at seeing the courage and resolution of so many brave men ready to engage the common enemy, that he would not suffer them to pay any regard to the oracles uttered by the *Pythian* priests, whom he suspected to have been bribed to speak in favour of *Philip**. But he put the *Athenians* in mind of *Pericles*, and the *Thebans* of *Epaminondas*, who governed their actions by the dictates of reason, and considered paying a regard to oracles and prophecies, as pretences for cowardice. *Demosthenes*, however, who shone with such lustre in the councils of *Greece*, tarnished his glory by his be-

larmed to listen to an accommodation, and they would no longer depend on the word of a prince, whose sole aim was to deceive.

* It was on this occasion that he said the priestess *philippised*, meaning that *Philip's* money opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. *Rollin.*

haviour

haviour in the field; for deserting his post, he threw down his arms and fled.

Philip having obtained the victory, was so transported with joy, that he drank to excess; and, in the midst of his mirth, turned the beginning of *Demosthenes*'s decree into verse, and sung it at the same time to his harp. But, when he came to himself, he was ashamed of this conduct, and could not forbear reflecting on the power of that orator, who had forced him to run the hazard both of his life and empire. The fame of *Demosthenes* even reached the court of *Perisia*; and the king sent letters to his lieutenants, ordering them to supply him with money, and to make their chief application to him, as the person best able to find employment for *Philip*, and to detain his forces at home, by preventing his becoming master of *Greece*.

The defeat of the *Grecians* furnished the enemies of *Demosthenes* with an opportunity of forming accusations against him: however the people not only acquitted him; but considering him as a man who loved his country, again called him to the management of public affairs: so that when the bones of those slain at *Chæronea* were brought home to be solemnly interred, *Demosthenes* was appointed to make their funeral oration; by which they shewed, that notwithstanding their ill success, they were not dissatisfied with the advice he had given them.

Philip did not long outlive his victory of *Chæronea*; and, as *Demosthenes* had secret intelligence

telligence of his death, he seized that opportunity to inspire the people with better hopes ; for coming into the assembly with a cheerful countenance, he pretended to have seen a vision, by which he was informed that the *Athenians* had reason to expect some very happy event. Soon after messengers arrived with the news of *Philip*'s death, on which the people immediately offered sacrifices to the gods, and decreed a crown to *Pausanias* his murderer. *Demosthenes* himself appeared in public crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and dressed with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but seven days ; for the sense of his private loss was swallowed up in the public joy. But surely the behaviour of the *Athenians* on this occasion was neither decent nor honourable. How mean was it in them to adorn themselves with garlands, and to offer sacrifices on account of the death of a prince, who, in the midst of his success, treated them with humanity and clemency ! How ungenerous, to make him free of their city, and to honour him while he lived, and yet, as soon as he fell by the hand of a murderer, to set no bounds to their joy, and to sing triumphant songs, as if he had been vanquished by their valour !

The cities of *Greece*, again animated by *Demosthenes*, once more entered into a confederacy. The *Thebans*, whom he had furnished with arms, attacked the garrison which had been placed over them by *Philip*, and slew many of them, and the

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Athenians prepared to join them with their forces, while *Demosthenes* continually exerted his eloquence in the assemblies, and even wrote to the *Perfian* officers in *Asia* to excite them to make war on *Alexander*, whom he represented as a child, and a shatter-brained youth. But *Alexander* had no sooner settled the affairs of his kingdom, than he marched with his army into *Bœotia*: the courage of the *Athenians* now failed them, and *Demosthenes* himself was struck with consternation: thus the *Thebans* being left to themselves lost their city, and were entirely ruined*. The *Athenians* had now recourse to entreaties, and sent a deputation to *Alexander* to implore his clemency. Among others, they made choice of *Demosthenes*, but he no sooner reached Mount *Citheron*, than dreading the anger of that prince, he returned home.

In the mean time *Alexander* sent to *Athens*, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten, or according to most historians eight orators. It was on this occasion that *Demosthenes* related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs; in which it is supposed, that the wolves one day told the sheep, that if they desired to be at peace, they must deliver up to them the dogs. The application was extremely easy and natural; for he justly compared himself and the other orators to dogs, whose duty it is to watch, to bark,

* See the life of *Alexander* in vol. v. p. 155.
and

and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

While the *Athenians* were in the utmost perplexity, and were unable to prevail on themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, *Demades*, whom *Alexander* had honoured with his friendship, agreed with those orators, for five talents to undertake the embassy alone, and to intercede for them, and he actually prevailed on that prince, not only to waive his demand, with respect to the orators, but to become reconciled to the city.

Upon *Alexander*'s departure for *Asia*, the faction of *Demades* became very powerful. About this time the famous suit against *Ctesiphon*, concerning the crown adjudged to *Demosthenes* * was ended. This action was commenced about ten years before, and never was any public cause more celebrated, both on account of the great reputation of the orators, and the magnanimity of the judges, who, notwithstanding the accusers of *Demosthenes*, were possessed of the greatest power, acquitted him so honourably, that *Aeschines* had not

* *Demosthenes*, having rebuilt the walls of *Athens* at his own expence, the citizens in testimony of their gratitude honoured him with a crown of gold, in pursuance of a decree which *Ctesiphon* had prepared for that purpose; but *Aeschines*, exasperated at the glory which his rival thereby obtained, censured this decree of *Ctesiphon*. This suit commenced a little before the battle of *Chæronea*.

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one fifth of the suffrages on his side; upon which he immediately left *Athens*, and passed the remainder of his life in teaching rhetoric at *Rhodes*, and in *Ionia* *.

Some time after *Harpalus*, dreading the resentment of *Alexander*, from the consciousness of the many crimes his luxury had prompted him to commit, fled out of *Afia* and came to *Athens*, where he had no sooner addressed himself to the people, and delivered up his treasures, his ships, and himself to their disposal, than the other orators, dazzled by his wealth, came to offer him their assistance, by persuading the people to receive and protect him *. But *Demosthenes* advised them to drive him out of the country, and not to involve themselves in a war on so unnecessary and unjust an occasion. But, a few days after, as an inventory was taking of the treasures of *Harpalus*, that *Macedonian* observing, that *Demosthenes* took a particular pleasure in view-

* *Æschines* opened his lectures at *Rhodes* with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment, to which great encomiums were given; but when they heard that of *Demosthenes*, the people redoubled their applauses and acclamations. It was then he spoke these words, so laudable in the mouth of a rival and an enemy, *But what applauses would you have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes himself pronounce it!*

† See an account of this affair, and the generous behaviour of *Phocion* to *Harpalus* in page 8, 9.

ing one of the king's cups of solid gold, and that he admired the fashion, and the beauty of the sculpture, desired him to take it in his hand, and consider the weight of it. *Demosthenes* taking the cup, was surprised at its heaviness, and accordingly asked, What it weighed? *To you*, said *Harpalus* smiling, *it shall bring twenty talents*, and that very evening sent him the cup, together with that sum. *Demosthenes* could not resist the temptation, but receiving the present, like a garrison into his house, surrendered himself up to *Harpalus*. The people being afterwards told of the gift sent to *Demosthenes*, were highly exasperated, and refused to hear his justification. They at length banished *Harpalus*, and in order to discover the persons who had taken bribes, the magistrates ordered strict search to be made in all the houses, that of *Callidæ* excepted, who being just married, was exempted from this enquiry, out of respect to his bride. This proceeding was however opposed by *Demosthenes*, who proposed a decree, by which the affair was referred to the cognizance of the court of the Areopagus. But he himself being one of the first whom that court condemned, he was fined fifty talents, and committed to prison; he, however, found means to make his escape.

Demosthenes had not fled far from the city, when finding, that he was pursued by some of those citizens whom he knew to be his adversaries, he endeavoured to hide himself: but they advancing nearer, called him by his name,

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name, and desired him to accept some money, which they had brought as a provision for his journey; entreating him at the same time to take courage, and not sink under his misfortunes; on which bursting into tears, he cried, “But how is it possible for me to support so heavy an affliction, as my being obliged to fly from a city where I meet with greater kindness from my enemies, than I can elsewhere expect from my friends.”

Demosthenes in this exile did not behave with the resolution and magnanimity that might have been expected: he generally resided at *Ægina* or *Trezena*, and whenever he looked towards *Athens* the tears started into his eyes, and he suffered such expressions to escape him, as but little corresponded with the spirit and boldness with which he spoke when he had the chief management of the commonwealth.

While *Demosthenes* was in exile *Alexander* died, and the *Grecians* again took arms. *Pythias* the orator and *Callimedon* now flying from *Athens* joined *Antipater*, and went with his friends and ambassadors to keep the *Grecians* from revolting and taking part with the *Athenians*. On the other hand, *Demosthenes* joined the ambassadors sent by *Athens*, and by the force of his eloquence assisted them in persuading the cities to unite and drive the *Macedonians* out of *Greece*. While *Pythias* and *Demosthenes* were pleading before an assembly of the people in *Arcadia*, the former said, “As we always suppose there is some disease

“ in the family into which asses milk is
“ brought ; so wherever there comes an em-
“ bassy from *Athens*, that city must needs be
“ sick.” But *Demosthenes* retorted the com-
parison by saying, “ As asses milk is never
“ carried into a family, but to restore it to
“ health, so the *Athenians* never send their
“ ambassadors to any city, but in order to
“ cure the distemper with which it is af-
“ flicted.” The *Athenians* were so pleased
with this turn, that they instantly passed a
decree for recalling him, and a ship was dis-
patched to him at *Ægina*, in which he re-
turned. When he entered the port of *Piræus*
all the magistrates and priests advanced
out of the city, attended by all the citizens,
to meet this illustrious exile, receiving him
with the utmost demonstrations of affection
and joy. *Demosthenes* was extremely affected
with the extraordinary honours that were paid
him, and while he returned, as it were in
triumph to his country, amidst the acclama-
tions of the people, he lifted up his hands
towards heaven, thanked the gods for their
protection, and congratulated himself for
beholding a day more glorious to him, than
that had proved to *Alcibiades*, when he re-
turned from exile ; since he was recalled by
his countrymen, not through any constraint
put upon them, but through their kindness,
and free choice. But he did not long enjoy
the happiness of residing in his native coun-
try ; for the *Greeks* were soon after totally de-
feated,

defeated, and the *Athenians* obliged to receive a *Macedonian* garrison into *Munychia*.

It was no sooner rumoured, that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were advancing towards *Athens*, than *Demosthenes* and his party escaped privately out of the city; and that ungrateful people condemned them to suffer death by a decree, which was proposed by *Demades*. They dispersed themselves in their flight, and *Antipater* sent his soldiers in search of them, with one *Archias*, who had been formerly a tragedian, at their head. This man finding at *Ægina*, *Hyperides* the orator, *Aristonicus* of *Marathon*, and *Hymereus*, who had all taken sanctuary in the temple of *Ajax*, he dragged them from their asylum, and sent them to *Antipater*, who was then at *Cleonæ*, where they were all put to death. It is even said, that he first caused the tongue of *Hyperides* to be cut out.

Archias receiving intelligence, that *Demosthenes* had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Neptune* in *Calauria*, sailed thither with a few light vessels, and some *Thracian* soldiers. When he had landed, he used every argument to persuade *Demosthenes* to accompany him to *Antipater*, assuring him, with many expressions of kindness, that he should not receive the least injury: but *Demosthenes* was too well acquainted with mankind, to rely on his promises; at which *Archias* beginning to grow angry and to threaten him, *Demosthenes* replied, " Now thou speakest like

“ the oracle of *Macedon* ; before thou didst
 “ but act a part. Therefore only wait while
 “ I write a word or two to my family.”
 He then withdrew farther into the temple,
 and taking some paper, as if he intended
 to write, put the pen into his mouth, and
 biting it, as was usual with him when he
 was thoughtful, he held it there some
 time ; and then bowing covered his head.
 The soldiers, who kept their station at the
 door, laughed, and, supposing that this be-
 haviour proceeded from pusillanimity, re-
 proached him with effeminacy and cowar-
 dice. *Archias*, then drawing near, repeat-
 ed the kind things he had before uttered,
 and once more promised him *Antipater*’s for-
 giveness. But *Demosthenes*, now perceiving
 that the poison had seized his vitals, un-
 covered his head, and, looking at *Archias*,
 said, “ Now thou mayest act the part of
 “ *Creon* in the tragedy *, and cast out this
 “ body uninterred. O gracious *Neptune* !
 “ while I yet live, I will depart out of this
 “ sacred place ; but *Antipater* and the *Ma-*
 “ *cedonians* have not left even thy temple
 “ unpolluted.” Then beginning to trem-
 ble and to stagger, he desired them to sup-

* He alluded to the *Antigone* of *Sophocles*, in which *Creon* orders the corpse of *Polynices* to be exposed to the dogs and birds of prey.



The Death of DEMOSTHENES

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port him; but, as he was passing by the altar, he fell down, and, giving a groan, expired.* The suddenness of his death occasioned great surprise. *Aristo* observes, that he took the poison out of a pen, as we have already mentioned; but the *Thracians*, who guarded the gates of the temple, reported, that he took the poison out of a rag, and put it into his mouth; and that they imagined he had swallowed gold: but the maid, who served him, being examined by the followers of *Archias*, affirmed, that he had long worn it as an amulet; and *Eratosthenes* observes, that he kept the poison in an hollow ring, which he wore as a bracelet.

The *Athenians*, soon after his death, erected a statue of brass to his memory, as a testimony of their esteem and gratitude; and published a decree, that the eldest branch

* *Demosthenes* died in about the 322d year before the birth of our Saviour, and his death was a remarkable instance of the ingratitude and inconsistency of character discovered by the *Athenians*. "What regard, says Mr. *Rollin*, "is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who were capable of being hurried into such opposite extremes, who one day passed sentence of death on a citizen, and the next loaded him with honour and applause?" The same observation may be made with respect to *Phocion*, and many other great men.

of his family should be maintained in the *Prytaneum*, and, on the pedestal of his statue, engraved two elegiac verses, to the following purpose : *O Demothenes ! had thy power been equal to thy wisdom, the Macedonian Mars would not have triumphed over Greece.*

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